















AN

AUTHENTIC HISTORY

OF THE

# SECOND WAR

FOR INDEPENDENCE:

COMPRISING

DETAILS OF THE MILITARY AND NAVAL OPERATIONS,  
FROM THE COMMENCEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE  
RECENT WAR; ENRICHED WITH NUMEROUS GEO-  
GRAPHICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

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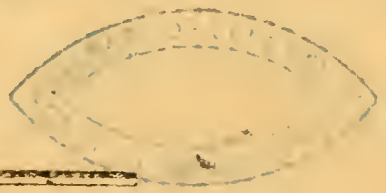
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*“ Give Fillan’s praise to the wind. Raise high his  
“ praise, in mine ear, while he yet shines in war.”*

Ossian.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



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# INTRODUCTION.



## *Exposition of the Causes of the War.*

PERHAPS it is impossible, in the nature of things, that there should exist a cordial political connexion between the *Republic* of the U. States and the *monarchy* of Great Britain. There is something in the national pride of England that can never forgive the declaration of independence; and on our side, the sufferings, prison ships, burnings, massacres and scalpings of the revolution have not been forgotten. It is true, that the ties of a common ancestry, similarity of language and manners, have been urged as natural inducements to a close and friendly alliance between the two countries. These causes operate feebly, when opposed by a powerful spirit of commercial rivalry, and the resentments springing from the revolutionary war, mutually cherished by both nations.

The hostility of England has been coeval with our national existence. How easy it is to furnish the incredulous, irrefragable evidence of the truth of this position! The events of the revolutionary war constrained the British government to recognize our independence; yet she refused to execute the treaty of 1783. The western posts from Oswego to Michilimackinac were forcibly retained, contrary to the express provis-

ions of that treaty from '85 to '96; and that too, while a Washington presided in the councils of his country ! This breach of faith subjected the United States to the expenses of a long and bloody Indian war, which otherwise most unquestionably could have been avoided. In this war the savages were supplied with the means of death from those very posts, so wrongfully withheld. The governor general of Canada, Lord Dorchester, instigated the Indians to hostilities. Englishmen fought by their sides at the defeats of Harmer and St. Clair. When Gen. Wayne defeated the Indians near the Miami of the Lake, in 1794, they sought protection under the guns of a British fort, erected in a time of peace, and many miles within the acknowledged territorial limits of the U. States. The British commander even threatened to fire on the American troops, if they approached within reach of his guns !

In the flight of Gen. Proctor from the battle of the Moravian Town, his carriage and papers fell into the hands of the Americans. Among these papers were found the letters of Mr. M'Kee\* of the Indian department, to Col. England, the commander of the English troops at Malden, during the months of July and August 1794, and at the time Gen. Wayne was operating against the Indians on the Miami. It appears from these letters that the scalps taken by the Indians were sent to the Indian establishment at the rapids of that river ; that the hostile operations of the Indians were concerted with British agents and officers ; that certain Indian tribes " having completed the belts they carried with scalps and prisoners, and being without provisions, resolved on going home, it was la-

\* See Appendix A.

mented that his Majesty's posts 'would derive no security from the late great influx of Indians into that part of the country, should they persist in their resolution of returning so soon;" that the British agents were immediately to hold a council at the glaze, in order to try if they could prevail on the lake Indians to remain; but that without provisions and ammunition being sent to that place, it was conceived to be extremely difficult to keep them together; and that "Col. England was making great exertions to supply the Indians with provisions." "Scouts are sent (continues Col. M'Kee) to view the situation of the American army; and we now muster 1000 Indians; all the lake Indians, from Saguna downwards, should not lose one moment in joining their brethren, as every accession of strength is an addition to their spirits." Again: "I have been employed several days in endeavoring to fix the Indians who have been driven from their villages and cornfields between the fort and the bay. Swan creek is generally agreed upon and will be a very convenient place for the delivery of provisions, &c." These letters prove that there existed a covert but active co-operation of the British agents with Indians opposed to Gen. Wayne.

The same influence was exercised among the Creek and Cherokee Indians. A British subject of the name of Bowles assumed the title of Director General of Muscogee.

The correspondence\* of American Indian Agents and military and civil officers near the western frontiers, with the department of state, affords ample additional

\* See Appendix B.



proof of the British agents instigating the savages to acts of hostility.

The late Gen. Pike in his tour to the head waters of the Mississippi, found several stockade forts erected by the British many leagues south of the boundary line.† Such has been the disregard of Great Britain for our territorial rights. Has she been more respectful to our national flag and maritime privileges?

The French revolution commenced. All Europe was in arms. The wisdom of Washington perceived the true interest of his country. The policy of a strict neutrality was adopted. Although this act displeased France, still it was not respected by England. The proclamation announcing this course of policy was issued on the 22d of April 1793. Yet, on the 8th of June following an order was issued from the cabinet of St. James, requiring "all vessels loaded wholly or in part, with corn, flour or meal, bound to any port in France, or to any port occupied by the armies of France," to be forcibly carried into the ports of Great Britain, and their cargoes were either to be sold there, or security given that they should only be sold in the ports of a country in amity with Great Britain.

This outrage was soon followed by the enforcement of the rule of '56. This preposterous and arbitrary rule ordained that neutral nations were not entitled to enjoy the benefits of a trade with the colonies of a belligerent power, from which in a period of peace they were excluded by the mother country. It was at a period when the American merchants had engaged in a lucrative and extensive trade with the French colonies, that the order

† See Appendix C.



of the 6th of November was silently circulated among the British cruisers, consigning to legal adjudication, "all vessels laden with goods the produce of any colony of France, or carrying provisions or supplies for the use of any such colony." A great number of American vessels became the victims of this perfidious order. The popular indignation in the U. S. was violently excited. War was, for a while, considered the only alternative. Finally, the pacific system of policy was preferred. Mr. Jay was dispatched on a special mission to Great Britain—the result was a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation. Nevertheless, the commerce of the United States continued to be the prey of British cruisers and privateers.

The accursed practice of impressment, had in the meanwhile become a serious cause of complaint. Even as early as 1793 the British government was apprized of the "irritation that it had excited ; and of the difficulty of avoiding to make immediate reprisals on their seamen in the United States." It was told that "so many instances of the kind had happened, that it was quite necessary they should explain themselves on the subject, and be led to disavow and punish such violence, which had never been experienced from any other nation." Again it was told "that unless it would come to some accommodation which might ensure the American seamen against this oppression, measures would be taken to cause the inconvenience to be equally felt on both sides." On the 30th of July, 1794, Mr. Jay wrote to Lord Grenville, "that the impressment of American citizens to serve on board British armed vessels, was not only an injury to the unfortunate individual, but it naturally excited certain emotions in the breasts

of the nation to whom they belong, and the just and humane of every country ; and that an expectation was indulged, that orders would be given that the Americans so circumstanced, would be immediately liberated, and that the British officers should, in future, abstain from similar violences." In April 1797, Mr. King remonstrated against the growing evil. He said, that " the subject was of much greater importance than had been supposed ; and that, instead of a few, and those in many instances equivocal cases, the American minister at the court of London had, in nine months (part of the years 1796, and 1797,) made application for the discharge of two hundred and seventy one seamen, who had in most cases exhibited such evidence as to satisfy him, [*Mr. King !*] that they were real Americans, forced into the British service, and persevering, generally, in refusing pay and bounty." In the autumn of 1796, the American Secretary of State, *Mr. Timothy Pickering* wrote to Mr. King instructing him to say that " if the British government had any regard to the rights of the U. S. any respect for the nation, and placed any value on their friendship, it would facilitate the means of relieving their oppressed citizens ;" that " the British naval officers often impressed Swedes, Danes and other foreigners from the vessels of the United States ; that they might, with as much reason, rob American vessels of the property or merchandise of Swedes, Danes and Portuguese, as seize and detain in their service, the subjects of those nations found on board American vessels ; and that the President was extremely anxious to have this business of impressing placed on a reasonable footing." In September 1800, Mr. Marshall, then Secretary of State, wrote to Mr. King still at the court



of London, stating that "the impressment of American seamen was an injury of very serious magnitude, which deeply affected the feelings and honor of the nation ; that no right had been asserted, to impress the natives of America ; yet, that they were impressed ; that they were dragged on board British ships of war, with the evidence of citizenship in their hands, and forced by violence there to serve until conclusive testimonials of their birth could be obtained ; that many must perish unrelieved, and all were detained a considerable time, in lawless and injurious confinement that the continuance of the practice must inevitably produce discord between two nations, which ought to be friends of each other ; and that it was more advisable to desist from, and to take effectual measures to prevent an acknowledged wrong, than by persevering in that wrong, to excite against themselves the well founded resentments of America, and force the government into measures which may very possibly terminate in an open rupture."

These extracts furnish ample proof that the subject of impressment became a serious ground of complaint and remonstrance as early as 1792. Nor did British cruisers desist from their practice of impressing American seamen even during the period of our naval war with France.

In the winter of 1800, Mr. Liston, the British minister at Philadelphia, submitted a project of a treaty to the consideration of the American government. It was rejected by Mr. Adams, and the chief officers of the executive department, whom he consulted, on the ground "that it did not sufficiently provide against the impressment of American seamen," and that it was better to have no article, and to meet the consequences, than not

to enumerate merchant vessels on the high seas, among the things not to be forcibly entered in search of deserters."

Such was the state of our relations with Great Britain when Mr. Jefferson was elected to the Presidency. The Peace of Amiens seemed to promise a durable repose to Europe, exhausted by long and sanguinary wars. The golden age of the American republic commenced. At peace with the whole world, her flourishing commerce whitened every sea ; her adventurous ships bore to her ports the productions of every clime. Our exports, imports and revenue increased beyond example : while France and England remained at peace, the practice of impressment, if not wholly abandoned, was at least unfrequent.

When the President of the United States appointed a special mission to negotiate with the French government the purchase of Louisiana, Mr. King was instructed to explain to the British government the object of the mission. Mr. King made the explanation and informed the American government that "the communication was received in good part ; no doubt was suggested of the right of the United States to pursue separately and alone the objects they aimed at ; but the British government appeared to be satisfied with the President's views on this important subject."

After the treaty of purchase was concluded, Mr. King wrote to Lord Hawkesbury apprising him of the event, and also, that in drawing up the treaty, care had been taken so to frame the same, as not to infringe any right of G. Britain, in the navigation of the river Mississippi." The noble Lord replied, "that he had received his ma-



jesty's commands to express the pleasure with which his majesty had received the intelligence ; and to add, that his majesty regarded the care which had been taken so to frame the treaty as not to infringe any right of G. Britain in the navigation of the river Mississippi, as the most *satisfactory evidence* of a disposition on the part of the Government of the United States, correspondent with that which his majesty entertained, to promote and improve that harmony, which so happily subsisted between the two countries, and which was so conducive to their mutual benefit."

Notwithstanding this unequivocal avowal of the British government, of its entire satisfaction at the purchase, it subsequently intrigued with Spain to induce her to oppose the transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States ; and no doubt would have succeeded, but for the potent *influence* of France.

In the declaration of the Prince Regent, (of Jan. 10, 1813,) the purchase of the territory was censured as "the ungenerous conduct of the United States towards Spain;" and the British negociators at Ghent, in their note of September 4, 1814, attribute the acquisition of Louisiana, by the United States to a spirit of aggrandizement, not necessary to their own security. They affirmed besides, that "the purchase was made against the known conditions on which it had been ceded by Spain to France," that in case of the protestation of the Minister of his catholic majesty at Washington, the President of the United States ratified the treaty of purchase ; and that "there was good reason to believe, that many circumstances attending the transaction, were industriously concealed." Yet these aspersions were

made in the very face of evidence in their possession; that the United States had at the onset of the negotiation consulted Spain whether she claimed any sovereignty over the territory of Louisiana? They knew also, at the time these unwarrantable reproaches were made, that Spain had replied, through her minister, M. Cevalles, that by the retrocession made to France, of Louisiana, that power regained the province, with the limits it had, saving the rights acquired by other powers; and that the United States could address themselves to the French government, to negotiate the acquisition of territories, which might suit their interest." They knew moreover, that his Catholic Majesty's minister at Washington, in 1804, acting by the "special order of his sovereign," declared to the American Secretary of state, Mr. Madison, that the explanations which the government of France had given to his Catholic majesty, concerning the sale of Louisiana to the United States, and the amicable dispositions, on the part of the King, his master, towards these states, had determined him to abandon the opposition, which at a prior period, and with the most substantial motives, he had manifested against the transaction."

The bright prospects opened to American commerce by the peace of Amiens, were delusive and transient. War recommenced between France and England. The American minister anticipating the event, obtained assurances, from the British government, "that, in the event of war, the instructions given to their naval officers should be drawn up with plainness and precision, and, in general that the rights of belligerents should be exercised in moderation, and with due respect to those



of neutrals." And in order to prevent the recurrence of the practice of impressment, our minister prepared for signature, a convention, to remain in force during five years, declaring that "no seamen, nor seafaring person, should upon the high seas, and without the jurisdiction of either party, be demanded or taken out of any ship or vessel, belonging to the citizens or subjects of one of the parties, by the public or private armed ships, or men of war, belonging to, or in the service of the other party; and that strict orders should be given for the due observance of the engagement." The British ministers at first agreed to this arrangement, but they soon insisted on a modification of its provisions, and that the narrow seas should be expressly excepted. Mr. King \* having supposed from the tenor of his conversations with Lord St. Vincent, that the doctrine of *mare clausum* would not be revived against the United States on this occasion; but that England would be content; with the limited jurisdiction or dominion over the seas, adjacent to her territories, which is assigned by the law of nations to other States, was disappointed, on receiving Lord St. Vincent's communication; and chose rather to abandon the negotiation than to acquiesce in the doctrine it proposed to establish.\*

In order to lull the American government and people into a false security, the British Minister at Washington, shortly after the renewal of hostilities in Europe, made a formal declaration to the government of the the United States, that "no blockade should be considered as existing, unless in respect of particular ports,

\* See Mr. King's letter to the Secretary of State dated, London, July, 1803.

which might be actually invested ; and, then, that the vessels bound to such ports should not be captured, unless they had previously been warned not to enter them." The specious promises given in this declaration were never realized ! Nay, the hostile attitude of Great Britain became more and more manifest.

The outrage of impressment was renewed on a more extensive scale ; scarce a vessel from our ports escaped the loss of a part of its crew, by the arbitrary seizures of the pressgang. Fresh blockades were announced. The rule of '56 was again enforced in a spirit of more rigorous execution. The commerce of the United States was cut up in every sea. The question of resistance to these accumulating injuries became no longer a party question. Federalists as well as republicans on this occasion, felt the indignities offered to their country's honor. The cold, malignant feelings of party, had not then extinguished in their bosoms the fire of patriotism. The memorials of Boston, New-York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, exist as monuments of federal resentment at the wrongs of England. The American people with one spirit and one voice, called aloud for resistance.

The American government could readily have found abundant argument to prove the justice of a declaration of war against Great-Britain ; the popular feeling was excited to the war key ; not by art or declamation, but actual sufferance.

However, Peace being obviously the true policy of the republic, negotiation was adopted as an alternative, preferable to war.

In 1806, Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney, were appointed envoys extraordinary to the court of St. James, to



negotiate with the British government and obtain, if practicable, a redress of grievances. Every authority was given them for the purposes of conciliation. An act of congress, prohibiting the importation of certain articles of English manufacture into the United States, was suspended, in proof of an earnest desire to terminate the then existing differences. Our envoys were nevertheless instructed to declare to the British negotiators that the "suppression of impressment, and the definition of blockades, were absolutely indispensable;" and that "without a provision against impressments, no treaty should be concluded."

The American envoys, influenced by a sincere desire to effect an accommodation of the points in controversy; knowing the anxiety of the American government to relieve its seafaring citizens, from the abuses of the impress tyranny; "listening with confidence to assurances and explanations of the British commissioners; in a sense favorable to their wishes; and judging from a state of information, that gave no immediate cause to doubt the sufficiency of those assurances and explanations; the envoys, rather than terminate the negotiation without any arrangement, were willing to rely on the efficacy of a substitute, for a positive article in the treaty, to be submitted to the consideration of their government, as this, according to the declaration of the British commissioners, was the only arrangement, they were permitted at that time, to propose or to allow. The substitute was presented in the form of a note from the British commissioners to the American envoys and contained a pledge "that instructions had been given, and should be repeated and enforced, for the observance of the greatest caution in the impressing British seamen,

[from American vessels] that the strictest care should be taken to preserve the citizens of the United States from any molestation or injury; and that immediate and prompt redress should be afforded, upon any representation of injury sustained by them."

The American government perceiving that this treaty contained no provision against impressment, that when it was "under consideration for ratification, the pledge contained in the substitute was not complied with, but on the contrary, that impressments were continued with undiminished violence, in the American seas, so long after the alledged date of the instructions, which were to arrest them, that the practical inefficacy of the substitute could not be doubted." The ratification of the treaty, was consequently declined. A change in the British ministry took place in the following year, when it was declared by the Secretary of foreign affairs, Mr. Canning, that no engagements were entered into, on the part of his majesty as connected with the treaty, except such as appear upon the face of it!

But independent of the proposed treaty; on the great topic of complaint, the British commissioners, Lords Holland and Auckland, by command of their sovereign, delivered a declaration to our envoys, which required that in case France should carry the threats contained in the Berlin decree into execution, "the United States should give security to his Majesty, that they would not submit to the French innovations!" That unless this *pledge for the good behavior of the United States*, were given, his Majesty would not consider himself bound by the present signature of his commissioners, to ratify the treaty, or precluded from adopting such measures as might seem necessary for counteracting the designs of the enemy."



The President of the United States could not so far forget the duty he owed his country, nor the dignity of self respect, as to ratify a treaty to which such degrading conditions were annexed. It reserved to Great Britain the power of annulling its provisions at pleasure ; and made the United States punishable for the offences of France.

The note of the British commissioners was dated on the 31st December 1806. And on the 7th of January 1807, an order of council ordained " that no vessel should be permitted to trade from one port to another both which ports should belong to, or be in possession of France, or her allies : or should be so far under their control, as that British vessels might not freely trade thereat." Thus, in less than nine days after the date of the treaty, before it was possible for the British government to know what course the American government would take respecting the Berlin decree, and before it had even heard of the existence of that decree, the foregoing order was announced to extend the circle of depredations on American commerce !

From this period, to the memorable epoch of the 18th of June, 1812, the insults and aggressions of Great-Britain, against the flag, honor, and independence of the United States were so frequent, that a bare recital of the instances would fill a volume of no ordinary size. We can only glance at the most prominent.

The tomahawk was again raised on the north western frontier. Evidence of British excitement accumulated.

The French 74 gun ship *L'Impeteaux*, went ashore in a gale on the southern coast of the United States ; she had a signal of distress flying. A British squadron approached commenced firing and finally succeeded in de-

stroying her; violating at once the jurisdiction, neutrality and independence of the United States. No atonement was offered for this outrage.

Upwards of 50 British ships of war hovered upon the coast of the United States, apparently for no other object than to harrass our commerce, impress our seamen, outrage our feelings and violate our territory and municipal regulations. Nothing is more certain, than that they were not in pursuit of French vessels, because so powerful a force was not necessary to subdue an occasional French privateer which were the only vessels of that nation that visited the American coast.

At length our ports become literally blockaded. The coasting trade was harrassed and rendered dangerous; their cargoes were frequently plundered and their vessels as often fired on.

The United States frigate Chesapeake peaceably prosecuting a distant voyage was wantonly fired into by a British 50 gun ship; many of her crew killed and wounded and seven forcibly carried away, under the false pretext, that they were British born subjects.\*

This daring and direct attack upon the sovereignty of the United States, excited in the breasts of the American people, a becoming indignation, but it was soothed in some measure by the proclamation of the President interdicting the entrance of all British armed vessels into the harbors and waters of the United States.

In defiance of this proclamation, the British sloop of

\* One of those unfortunate Americans was hanged at Halifax; another died in captivity; and the remaining five were formally restored at Boston, in the spring of 1812, after having been held in bondage *five years*, and after the British and their partizans in the United States had declared that they were genuine British subjects!



war Driver, Capt. Love, entered the waters of the Chesapeake bay, procured water and refreshments ; and in reply to the order for his withdrawal, compared the Chief Magistrate of the United States, to a “ petty tyrant of Barbary.”

It is true that the British government affected to disapprove and condemn these outrages. But the officers who committed them, were invariably promoted to higher stations.

While England by her orders in council, pretended to be taking steps to restrain the violence of France, and to retort upon her the evils of her own injustice, a brisk trade was carried on between those two rival powers.

Among those numerous orders, there appeared the one of May 16, 1806, declaring the French, Dutch and German coast from the port of Brest to the river Elbe, in a state of rigorous blockade. This order was of prior date to the Berlin decree ; and was, no doubt, the principal cause which induced the French Emperor to adopt that measure. It alledged that “ Great-Britain declares blockaded, places before which she has not a single vessel of war ; and even places, which her united forces would be incapable of blockading ; such as entire coasts, and a whole empire ; an unequalled abuse of the right of blockade, that had no other object, than to interrupt the communications of different nations ; and to extend the commerce and industry of England, upon the ruin of those nations.”

This decree was followed by the English orders in council of the 11th of November, 1807, which declared that “ all ports and places of France and her allies or of any other country at war with his Majesty, and all other ports and places in Europe, from which although not at

war with his Majesty, the British flag was excluded, and all ports or places in the colonies belonging to his Majesty's enemies, should, from thenceforth, be subject to the same restrictions, in point of trade and navigation, as if the same were actually blockaded by his Majesty's naval forces, in the most strict and rigorous manner."

When this order was issued not a single application of the Berlin decree to the commerce of the United States could have been known to the British government; for it had been officially informed by the American minister in London, that explanations, uncontradicted by any overt act had been given to the American Minister at Paris.

This order contained a clause permitting neutral vessels to trade with France from certain free ports on first landing the cargo at a British port, and paying a transit duty. The effect of this provision, was to render the American flag tributary to the British revenue. An American vessel arriving at Baltimore which had paid this duty on some pipes of Gin, it was publicly burnt by the patriotic inhabitants of that city.

The French Milan decree of Dec. 17, 1807, followed the British orders of the 11th of November. The American government anticipating the measure and still adhering, too closely, perhaps, to the pacific system of policy resolved on withdrawing its flag from the reach and effect of the orders, decrees and ships of war of the two belligerents.

Accordingly in December, 1807, an Embargo was imposed on "all American vessels and merchandize." Shortly after the passage, it was declared by law: "that in the event of such peace, or suspension of hostilities, between the belligerent powers of Europe, or such chang-



es in their measures effecting neutral commerce, as might render that of the United States safe, in the judgment of the President, he was authorised to suspend the Embargo in whole or in part."

In March 1809, the pressure of the embargo upon the seafaring part of community, induced its removal and the substituting in its place, a system of nonintercourse and nonimportation. But in order that the door of conciliation might remain unclosed, it was declared: "that the President of the United States should be authorised in case either France or Great Britain, should so revoke, or modify her edicts, as that they should cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, to declare the same by proclamation; after which the trade of the United States might be renewed by the nation so doing."

This appeal to the justice of the belligerents was as ineffectual, as though it had been made to the lion and tyger. This determined the American government to take a more firm stand. The French and British ships of war were excluded from the harbors of the United States, with an offer, that if *either* of those powers should, before the 3d of March 1811, so revoke, or modify her edicts, as that they should cease to violate the commerce of the United States, and if the other nation should not within three months thereafter, so revoke, or modify her edicts in like manner, the provisions of the nonintercourse and nonimportation law should, at the expiration of three months be revived against the nation refusing or neglecting to revoke or modify its edicts."

Thus, France and England were placed upon a footing of equality, as it respected our restrictive operations, and the exclusion of their armed vessels from our ports, although England was the original aggressor, and al-

though her means of annoyance were four times as great as those of France ; and the latter power had never impressed American seamen ; nor instigated the savages to massacre our defenceless frontier inhabitants.

About the middle of April, 1809, an event occurred that diffused a general joy throughout the United States, and promised to lead to a speedy reconciliation between the American and British nations. Mr. Erskine, the British minister, resident at Washington, affirmed that "he was authorised to declare that his Britannic majesty's orders in council of January and November, 1807, will have been withdrawn, as respects the United States, on the 10th of June 1809."

The President of the United States believing that the official declaration of an accredited British minister was sufficient evidence of the sincerity of his government, did not hesitate to announce by proclamation "that after the 10th of June next, the trade of the U. S. with G. Britain, as suspended by the nonintercourse law, might be renewed." This arrangement was disavowed by the British government—which denied the authority of its minister, recalled him, and appointed a successor. The disavowal was, however, deemed an act of perfidy by many in the United States. In one instance, at least, a "federal" meeting was convened which invoked "the arm of almighty vengeance, the lightning of heaven, and the united energies of the American people, to punish the perfidious nation of England."

Mr. Jackson, the successor of Mr. Erskine, attempted to justify the rejection of the convention of 1809, by referring to the American rejection of the treaty of



1805; but the two cases were not in point. In the first instance, the American negociators had explicitly apprised the British government of their defect of power; besides they did not agree to subscribe to conditions contained in the note of the British commissioners, annexed to the treaty of 1806. In the last case, the British minister professed to be fully authorised, and the execution of the Erskine arrangement had already commenced. Mr. Jackson, in his zeal to exculpate his court, made insinuations which were indignantly repelled; and produced his dismissal.

On the 5th August 1810, the French minister of foreign relations announced to Gen. Armstrong, the American minister at Paris, that in consideration of the act of the 1st of May, 1809, by which the congress of the U. S. engaged to oppose itself to that one of the belligerent powers, which should refuse to acknowledge the rights of neutrals, he was authorised to declare, that the decrees of Berlin and Milan were revoked, and that after the 1st of November, 1810, they would cease to have effect; it being understood, that in consequence of that declaration, the English should revoke their orders in council, and renounce the new principles of blockade, which they had wished to establish: or that the U. S. conformably to the act of congress, should cause their rights to be respected by the English."

As in the case of the arrangement with the British minister Erskine, so the President with respect to this declaration of the French minister Cadore. A proclamation was issued on the 2d of November, 1810, announcing "that the edicts of France had been so revoked as that they ceased on the first day of the same month to violate the commerce of the U. S.; and that all the

restrictions imposed by the act of congress, should then cease and be discontinued, in relation to France and her dependencies."

At the date of three months from this proclamation, the nonintercourse and nonimportation laws were to be revived against G. Britain, unless, during that period, her orders in council should be revoked. New appeals were in vain made to British justice. The American minister at London repeatedly reminded the British government of its pledge to repeal its offensive edicts *pari passu* with her antagonist. It was at one time alleged, in reply, that satisfactory proof of the repeal of the French decrees was not afforded. At another, it was insisted that the repeal ought to have been total, applying equally to their internal and external effects. "As if, the U. S. had either the right, or the power, to impose upon France the law of her domestic institutions." Finally Lord Castlereagh insisted "that the decrees of Berlin and Milan must not be repealed singly and specially, in relation to the U. S.; but must be repealed, also, as to all other neutral nations; and in no less extent of a repeal of the French decrees, had the British government ever pledged itself to repeal the orders in council." "As if it were incumbent on the U. S. not only to assert her own rights, but to become the coadjutor of the British government, in a gratuitous assertion of the rights of all other nations."

Such was the sophistry and preposterous arguments of the British diplomatic agents, in their comments on the pretended nonrepeal of the French decrees. But their arguments were amply refuted by the able replies of Mr. Russell, the American resident minister at London.



In the mean while, the American government opened for the last time the door of accommodation. An act of congress of 1811, again provided that "if Great Britain should so revoke or modify her edicts as that they shall cease to violate the neutral commerce of the U. S. the president of the U. S. should declare the fact by proclamation, and that the restrictions previously imposed, should from the date of such proclamation, cease and be discontinued."

Nevertheless, Great Britain continued her orders in council—her impressments—her intrigues with Spain—her instigations of the savages residing near the U. S. western frontiers. At this period her cruizers had captured nearly 1000 sail of our merchant vessels—and impressed into her naval service more than six thousand seamen, who claimed to be American, and who were denied all opportunity to verify their claims. To these energetic provocatives to resistance on the part of the American people, were added, the disclosures of the accredited British agent, John Henry, affording ample evidence that the British government had, in a period of peace and negotiation, endeavored to alienate and detach the people of the New England states from their government.\*

The voices of a great majority of the American people was loud for a vindication of their rights by an appeal to the sword. Accordingly, congress pronounced a solemn and deliberate declaration of war against Great Britain and her dependencies, on the memorable 18th of June, 1812.

\* See appendix, D.





# HISTORY, &c.



## *March of Gen. HULL to Detroit.*

**T**HE hostility of the Indian tribes living on the waters of lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, the defenceless state of the Michigan territory, and the probability of a war with England were, no doubt, the principal reasons which governed the Executive of the United States, in its determination to display a respectable military force on the borders of the Straits separating the Lakes Erie and St. Clair.

In April, 1812, a requisition was made by the President, for 1200 of the militia of the state of Ohio, who were to be found by the 4th regiment of U. S. troops; then on their way from Vincennes. In obedience to the call, Gov. Meigs, with his usual promptitude, issued orders to the Major Generals of the western and middle divisions, to furnish their respective quotas of men, who were to rendezvous at Dayton, on the 29th of the same month.

On this occasion, we know not which most to admire, the unwearied exertions of the governor; or the patriotic zeal of all classes of the people. In a few days the requisition was more than complied with. Citizens of the first distinction were among the foremost to enrol their names. With a celerity never to be equalled in a new country, volunteers collected from every part of

the state. No one was seen attempting to evade his country's call; the contention was, who should be first to avenge her wrongs. Noble sons of Ohio! your patriotism and valor are worthy the blessed soil you inhabit! Long, long may you enjoy that peace which you have so gallantly contributed to conquer.

Having elected their officers,\* and made the necessary domestic arrangements, they exchanged the endearments of HOME, for the toils and dangers of the camp, and commenced their march for Dayton, where they arrived before any preparation had been made for their reception. Neither tents nor the necessary cooking utensils had arrived. The troops having left their homes in haste, many had forgotten to furnish themselves with blankets, articles of essential importance to a soldier's comfort. They remained several days without huts or sheds, exposed to the inclemency of the season. But this was not sufficient to cool their ardor; they were impatient to commence their march for Detroit.

\* Of the first regiment of Ohio volunteers, Duncan M'Arthur† was elected colonel; James Denny and Wm. A. Trimble, majors. Of the second, James Finley, col. Thomas Moore and Thomas B. Van Horne, majors. Of the third, Lewis Cass, colonel; Robert Morrison and Jeremiah R. Munson, majors.

† When Col. M'Arthur received orders to furnish his quota from his division, he addressed his fellow-citizens, and after a handsome exposition of the causes, and the necessity of an appeal to arms, said—"Volunteers from every part of the division will be accepted until the number required be made up. I shall myself be one of them. Should the detachment from the second division, think proper to honor me with the command, I will accept of it, otherwise, I will cheerfully shoulder my firelock and march in the ranks."



By the middle of May, the troops were provided with blankets, tents, and other necessary camp equipage, and had become tolerably expert in the most useful military evolutions. Brigadier General William Hull, who had been appointed by government to conduct the expedition, having arrived, the encampment was changed from the commons at Dayton, to a prairie on the west bank of Mad River, three miles distant.

Governor Meigs having assembled and organised the troops, in obedience to the orders of the secretary of war, had now only to surrender the command of them over to General Hull. The 25th of May was agreed on as the day for transferring the command. The brigade was formed into close columns, and the governor addressed the troops in a style calculated to make a deep impression.

*“ Officers and soldiers of the first army of Ohio,*

*“ Collected suddenly and rapidly from various parts of the state, you have manifested a zeal, worthy of a free people. You will soon be completely organized, and I trust, that harmony will forever continue. Already you have made considerable advances in discipline : you will improve ; it will soon become easy, familiar and agreeable. Subordination is the soul of discipline ; order, safety and victory are its results. Honor consists in an honorable discharge of duty, whatever may be the rank. Respect each other according to your stations. Officers, be to your men as parents to children : Men, regard your officers as fathers. You will soon march. My heart will always be with you. The prayers of all good citizens will attend you.”*

He thanked them in the name of the President of the United States, and informed them that the second army was organizing, and would follow if necessary.

General Hull followed.—“ The manner in which governor Meigs has delivered over to my command, this part of the army, has excited sensations which I strongly feel, but which it is difficult for me to express ;—His great exertions, and the talents he has displayed in assembling, disciplining, and preparing in every respect, for actual service, so respectable a military force, are known to you, and will be fully known to his country ; this knowledge of his country will be his highest eulogium. Long may he live, and long may he adorn his elevated station.

“ The crisis has now arrived, when our country has deemed it necessary to call into the field her patriotic sons. The spirit which has been manifested on this occasion, is highly honorable to the officers and soldiers, who compose this army, and the section of the union to which you belong. You have exhibited, to the elder part of the country, an example worthy of imitation. Citizens, distinguished for talents and wealth, have made a voluntary tender of their services, to defend the violated rights of the nation. Such men are entitled to the fair inheritance, which was purchased by the valor and blood of their fathers. A country with such a defence has nothing to fear. In any possible exigence, it is environed with a bulwark of safety. To officers and soldiers who have engaged in the public service with such honorable and patriotic motives, it is unnecessary to urge the importance of regularity and discipline, or the necessity of subordination and obedience to orders. The same spirit which induced you voluntarily to engage



in the service of your country, will animate you in the discharge of your duties. With patience you will submit to the privations and fatigues of a military life, and if you should be called to meet danger in the field, you will manifest the sincerity of your engagements by the firmness and bravery of your conduct. In marching through a wilderness, memorable for savage barbarity, you will remember the causes by which that barbarity has been excited. In viewing the ground stained with the blood of your fellow citizens, it will be impossible to suppress the feelings of indignation. Passing by the ruins of a fortress, erected in our territory by a foreign nation, in times of profound peace, and for the express purpose of exciting the savages to hostility, and supplying them with the means of conducting a barbarous war, must remind you of that system of oppression and injustice, which that nation has continually practiced; and which the spirit of an indignant people can no longer endure. If it is impossible that time should obliterate the remembrance of past transactions, what will be the impressions on the present occasion? The wrongs of the same nation have been continually accumulating, and have at length compelled our country to put on the armor of safety, and be prepared to avenge the injuries which have been inflicted.

“In a few days you will be joined by a body of troops of the U. S. army. Among them, you will have the pleasure of seeing the fourth regiment of infantry, the gallant heroes of Tippecanoe. They will act by your sides, in your approaching campaign, and while they will be ambitious to maintain, and if possible, to increase the glory they have already acquired, your conduct will be stimulated by the splendor of their example, and you will



be inspired with ambition to acquire laurels, at least as brilliant as those they deservedly wear. That harmony and friendship may pervade this army, and that glory and fame may attend it in its movements, are wishes in which I am confident, you will all heartily join."

At the close of the General's address, the troops uncovered and gave six cheers, as testimonials of respect for their beloved chief magistrate and their new commander.\*

Every thing being in readiness for the departure of the troops, they took their line of march on the 1st of June. Arrived at Staunton, a small town on the east bank of the Miami, they remained stationary until the 6th.

At the departure of the army from Dayton, it was supposed that the river Miami was navigable, and that a considerable part of the baggage could be conveyed in boats to fort Loramie, but on learning the impracticability of sending the baggage by water the General gave orders to the troops to march to Urbana, where they arrived on the 7th.

On the 8th a council was held by General Hull, and Governor Meigs, with twelve Indian Chiefs† who had

\* The appearance of General Hull was venerable and prepossessing. Beneath snowy locks of 60 winters bleaching, he exhibited a countenance as fresh and blooming as a youth of 18. His eloquence is perspicuous and graceful.

† The names of these chiefs were Ta-he, Shanato, Scutush, Monaham, Dew-e-sew, chiefs of the Wyandot tribe; Catawepasa, Cut-a-we-pa, Pi-a-ge-ha, Pi-ta-ha-ge, Kit-e-kish-e-mo, Na-ha-sa-co-the, chiefs of the Shawanoes tribe; Ma-tha-me, of the Mingo tribe. Several of these chiefs were attached to General Harrison's army, and were in the battle of the Thames. Ta-he, in his speech to Governor Meigs, observed, "The eye of the

come in for that purpose. It was agreed to renew the treaty of Greenville. After smoking the calumet of peace, both parties called on the *Great Spirit* to witness the sincerity of their professions. The Indians appeared honest in their declarations, and readily gave permission to General Hull, to march his army through their territory, and establish as many garrisons as he might deem necessary for his protection. They agreed to furnish the army all the assistance in their power, and to apprise the General of the movements of hostile Indians should they meditate an attack.

The 4th regiment which had so gloriously distinguished itself at Tippecanoe arrived on the 10th, within a few miles of the encampment. Arrangements were made to receive them in a becoming manner. A triumphal arch was erected, adorned with an eagle, and the words "*Tippecanoe—glory ;*" the regiments of Cols. M'Arthur and Cass, marched to a prairie, about a mile from town, for the purpose of escorting them in. The Ohio troops having formed a line, the veteran heroes emerged from a wood at a short distance, and appeared in front of the line, with Col. Miller at their head. The customary salutations being exchanged, they were conducted through the triumphal arch into camp. The commanding general deemed the occasion of sufficient importance to require the issuing of a general order conceived in the following words :

"The General congratulates the army on the arrival of the fourth United States regiment. The first army

Great Spirit is not only on all our actions, but sees our hearts. He placed us here as brothers, and as we lieve, requires that we live together as brothers ought to do."



of Ohio will feel a pride in being associated with a regiment so distinguished for its valor and discipline. The General is persuaded there will be no other contention in this army than, which shall most excel in discipline and bravery. Whatever the rank of the regiment, or to whatever description it belongs, it will in reality, be the first regiment in the army. The patriots of Ohio, yielding to none in spirit and patriotism, will not be willing to yield to any in discipline and valor."

On the 11th of June Col. M'Arthur's regiment was detached to open a road as far as the Scioto river. Having passed Mannery's Blockhouse and Solomon's town, a small Indian village, near the boundary line, the detachment commenced its labors through an extensive region of excellent level land.

Having gained the river, they commenced building two block houses, on the south side of the Scioto, each 20 by 24 feet, connected by a strong stockade. This post was called Fort M'Arthur.

On the evening of the 19th, Gen. Hull arrived with the residue of the army, and encamped on the north side of the river, and on the 21st, Col. Finley's regiment was detached for the purpose of cutting the road to Blanchard's fork of the Auglaize.

On the next morning moved forward, with the exception of part of Capt Dill's company, which was left at Fort M'Arthur, for the double purpose of protecting the sick, and defending the fort, in case of attack.

The following was the formation of the army as announced in a general order. The 4th U. S. regiment on the right, Col. M'Arthur's on the left; Col. Finley on the left of the 4th, and Col. Cass on the right of Col. M'Arthur; the cavalry on the right of the whole. In



marching, the riflemen of the respective regiments formed the flank guards, and on the days the army marched, they were excluded from other duty.

From fort M'Arthur to the rapids of Miami, is 150 miles ; the route of the army was through a thick and almost trackless forest ; through a country where numerous creeks and rivers have their origin. The soil of the land was rich and moist. As there were a great many baggage waggons attached to the army, it became necessary to open a road the whole distance. The weather was rainy, and man and horse had to travel midleg deep in mud ; frequently the van had to halt for the rear, which was as often detained in its march in relieving waggons and horses from the mire. Twelve miles from the Scioto, the army encamped on a swampy piece of ground, where the mud was ankle deep in the tents. Here a block house was erected and appropriately named "Fort Necessity."\* At this place, the General received dispatches from Mr. Atwater, the acting governor of the Michigan territory.†

\* We will here mention a fact of little importance in itself, indeed, if it did not serve to evince the want of decision in the commander in chief. In consequence of the baggage waggons not being able to keep pace with the army, every man in camp, capable of making a *pack saddle*, was detailed for the purpose ; the General having ordered the baggage to be conveyed on pack horses ; after a sufficient number was made, the order was rescinded ; and the waggons proceeded as usual.

† Shortly after the General's arrival at Dayton, he sent Robert Lucas, and William Denny to Detroit, with dispatches for Mr. Atwater. Gen. Lucas gave the General a very unfavorable account of the state of affairs in the territory. He was present at several councils held by Mr. Atwater, with the Chiefs of the Wyandot, Otto-

The army consumed three days in marching from Fort Necessity to Fort Findley, which stands on a handsome eminence on the west side of Blanchard's fork.

On the 26th of June, the day previous to the army's leaving this place, Col. Dunlap arrived express from Chillicothe, with dispatches from the secretary of war to General Hull, which although confidential, were believed by the troops, to contain official intelligence of the declaration of War, as the General ordered all the heavy camp equipage to be left at Fort Findley. The balance of Capt Dill's company were stationed in the fort. Col. Cass' regiment were detached to open the road from thence to the Miami rapids.

way and Chippewa tribes, who expressed their intention to be friendly, except *Walk-in-the-water*, of the Wyandot nation, who declared that the American government was improperly interfering by sending an army into the country which would stop their communications with Canada, and observed that the Indians were their own masters, and would go where they pleased. Gen. Lucas from his opportunities, observation and intelligence was enabled to communicate much valuable information. It appeared evident that the British had conveyed large bodies of Indians at Malden, who were supplied with arms and ammunition, and were ready to strike on our frontiers at the signal of the British. Fort Detroit, he represented as by no means prepared for defence, and that the American citizens were much pleased that an army was approaching for their protection. He ascertained Malden to be in a defenceless situation. Gen. Lucas resides in Scioto county, Ohio—his conduct during the whole campaign was such as to entitle him to the highest credit. In the language of a correspondent, "As a spy he was prudent and brave; as a soldier, he has no superior—to a correct knowledge of military tactics, he unites those principles of correct policy, which adorn the man."



The 30th was a joyous day, the army suddenly emerged from a gloomy wilderness of 150 miles extent, impervious almost to the cheering rays of the sun, unmarked by a solitary trace of the hand of civilization, to a full view of the broad Miami and its Elysian banks. Never was the power of contrast more sensibly felt; in their rear stood a boundless forest, the abode of frightful beasts of prey and unrelenting savages—before them was presented to their ravished senses a scene at once gay and magnificent beyond description. Under their eyes rolled a beautiful river; on its opposite margin rose a smiling village; to the right and the left as far as the eye could reach, were seen enamelled meadows clad in the rich luxuriance of a summer's dress.

A beam of joy animated every countenance; the contemplation of the beauties of the scene gave fresh energy to the almost exhausted spirits of the men, and repaid them for the fatigues of a long and dreary march. The day was spent in fishing, washing and in the usual relaxation of military life. At this place a small schooner was engaged to carry a quantity of baggage belonging to the army, to Detroit. About 30 officers and privates were put on board, to whose protection it was intrusted. Complete muster rolls of every company in the brigade, were made out, deposited in the trunk, and put on board the schooner. It is even said that the General's trunk, containing his instructions, and a copy of the act declaring war against G. Britain, was also put on board the vessel. Fatal error! The British being apprised of the existence of war, captured the schooner and made prisoners of the passengers and crew.\*

\* An open boat containing the sick attached to the army, accompanied the schooner and shared the same fate.



Lieut Robert Davidson, and twenty-five men, of Col. Cass' regiment, were left at the rapids for the purpose of building a block house—the army continued its march through a beautiful country interspersed with French settlements. At the river La Loutre, a party of twenty five Indians of the Ottawa tribe came in with a white flag. Like those at Urbana, they professed friendship and solicited permission to march with the troops.

On the evening of the 2d of July, the Colonels of each regiment, communicated to their men the intelligence that the General had received official information of the declaration of war against Great Britain; they at the same time urged the necessity of strict subordination, and distributed among the troops the requisite supply of cartridges.

On the morning of the 4th the army reached Huron river, 21 miles from Detroit, and 6 from Malden. From reports which the General had heard, he was induced to expect an attack from the Indians, at this place. The day was spent in various ceremonies of military parade. The line of battle was formed immediately on the arrival of the troops, while the pioneers were engaged in throwing a bridge over the river, not more than 12 yards wide and fordable in many places; the men were under arms the whole day; during the night half of the troops were on guard.\* These prudential measures remind one of the maxims of the Great Frederick.—“*Superfluous precaution, is preferable to neglect.*”

\* The General's plan of encampment at night, on the march from Urbana to Detroit, was a hollow square, defended generally by a temporary breastwork of felled trees.

On the 5th, the army marched at an early hour and encamped at Spring Wells, three miles below Detroit, in the evening. The next day he issued the following general order :

“ Brigadier general Hull presents his thanks, and he likewise considers it his duty to present the thanks of the country, to the officers and soldiers of this army, for the firm and persevering spirit they have manifested in their march from Vincennes, and the Ohio river, to this place; the obstructions of nature have been removed by their persevering industry, and their march has been almost as rapid, as if those obstructions had not existed. They have proved by their conduct the sincerity of their engagements.

“ The commanding officer of the militia of this territory, will make a return to the brigade major of the volunteers, of all the militia now in service, distinguishing the different descriptions.

“ The garrisons of Detroit, Michilimackinac, Chicago and Fort Wayne, being placed by the president of the United States, under the command of brigadier general Hull, the commanding officers of those garrisons are informed, that congress has declared war against Great Britain, and they will immediately place their garrisons in the best possible state of defence, and make a return to brigade major Jessup, at Detroit, of the quantity of provisions the contractor has on hand at their respective posts, the number of officers and men, ordnance and military stores of every kind, and the public property of all kinds. The springs of water near this encampment will be dug out in a manner best to supply the army, and vaults will be sunk under the direction of the quarter master

General. The armorers under Capt. Thorp will attend solely for the present, to repairing the arms."

NOTE.—Having followed Gen. Hull to Detroit, we shall now leave him encamped at the Spring Wells, until we give the reader a geographical view of the Michigan Territory, and such parts of Upper Canada, as were the scenes of the General's military operations.



*A View of the Michigan Territory, &c.*

**T**HIS territory is bounded south by the state of Ohio and the Indiana Territory, from which it is separated by a line drawn due east from the south westerly bend of Lake Michigan, until it intersects Lake Erie, or Detroit river.\* West by a line drawn from the said south westerly bend through the middle of Lake Michigan to its most northern extremity,† which separates it from the Illinois territory, from thence due north to the treaty line in the middle of Lake Superior: north and east it is bounded by Upper Canada, from which it is separated by a small part of Lake Superior, St. Mary's river, Lake Huron, St. Clair river and lake, and Detroit river.

\* This line has never been run; it is therefore uncertain where it would intersect Lake Erie. A minute of an observation taken by a British gentleman, makes the latitude of the southern extremity of Lake Michigan a degree and a half south of Detroit. This would carry the line entirely south of Lake Erie. Many oral communications represent the southern extremity of lake Michigan as nearly west of Detroit. Before the war the American government had taken measures to remove this ambiguity, but were prevented by the hostile demonstrations of the Indians resident in the country through which the boundary passes. During this uncertainty, the mouth of the Miami-of-the-lake has been assumed as the line.

† It is uncertain whether the northern extremity of Lake Michigan is in Green Bay, or at the intermediate point between Green Bay and the strait of Michilimackinac.

The greatest length of the territory from south east to north west is 500 miles ; from north east to south west west is given at 300. The number of square miles, both of land and water, is estimated at 150,000. It includes two peninsulas of unequal size. The largest is formed by the waters of the rivers St. Joseph and Miami-of-the-lakes, lake Erie, Detroit river, St. Clair lake and river, and lakes Huron and Michigan, and contains nearly the whole population, which, according to the last census, was 4,762, of which 1000 are of the military age.

Numerous streams and rivers water this part of the territory. Those that fall into lake Erie are, the Miami, La Loutre, Aux Raisins, Aux Rochers, Sables, Swan-Creek, Huron ; into Detroit river run the Aux Ecorces and Rouge rivers ; into the strait St. Clair, runs the river Huron.

The channel between lakes St. Clair and Huron, is twenty five miles in length ; and presents on either side a scene no less fertile than pleasing. It runs almost in a straight direction, lined by lofty ferest trees, interspersed with elegant and extensive meadows, and studded with islands, some of which are of considerable size.

On the south side of lake Huron is the bay of Sagaina, whose mouth is eighteen miles in width, whose length is forty five miles, and into which two considerable rivers empty themselves. The principal one comes from the south, on the banks of which the Ottaways have a village ; and the soil is said to be extremely fertile. Six miles above the bay two respectable rivers present themselves ; between these and the north west angle of the peninsula empty into the lake a number of large streams.



The strait between lakes Huron and Michigan, is fifteen miles in length, and is subject to a flux and reflux. The current flows with great rapidity.

A great number of rivers and rivulets, which have their sources in the interior of the peninsula, fall into lake Michigan. The principal of these are Morquette, St. Nicholas, Grande river (whose source is near the bay of Sagiana) Raisin, Barbue, Maramy, Le Noir, (or Black river) and the river St. Joseph, which is the most considerable of the whole, and which, through its various sinuosities, may be ascended near a hundred and fifty miles. At sixty miles from its mouth, the French had a fort and mission. At the distance of nine or ten miles from the St. Joseph are found the sources of the Theakiki, navigable for canoes, and which falls into the Illenois.

From the mouth of the river Miami to the outlet of lake Huron, at short intervals, the country is settled on a continued line, without any settlements in the rear, if we except those on the Aux Raisins, Rouge and Huron.

The length and narrowness of the line of settlements exposes the Inhabitants in a peculiar manner to the inroads of the savages, and to be cut off in detail. Nothing could have preserved them but the predilection of the Indians for the French character.

The soil of the great peninsula is in most places of an excellent quality. The settled parts produce fine crops; the land on the margin of lake Michigan is light and sandy; a few miles from the lake it is known to be rich. At Detroit, and along the river and lake St. Clair, the land rises gradually from the water, to the distance of a quarter of a mile, generally, and then recedes until the country becomes low and level, and



continues so for four or five miles, when it rises by degrees and acquires sufficient dryness for the various purposes of cultivation. The road from the Rapids of Miami to Detroit, and from thence to the river Huron, passes for the most part over dry land, and through numerous groves of lofty timber. All accounts from the interior concur in representing it as a fine country well adapted to inland navigation.

“ The country in every direction is beautiful, presenting a most sublime prospect. There are no hills to be seen : a champaign country, the greater part prairie, affording inexhaustible grazing, and presenting the most delightful natural meadows, and the grass cured would be almost equal to our hay ; there are also vast forests of valuable timber, and the soil exceedingly rich. The rivers have their sources from swamps, and sometimes from delightful inland lakes. It is not unfrequent to see two opposite streams supplied by the same water or lake, one running into the waters of the Mississippi, the other into the northern lakes. Neither China nor Holland ever had such natural advantages for inland water communications.”\*

The Indians are yet the legitimate possessors of nine tenths of the soil of the territory, and are far more numerous than the white inhabitants. There are villages on the rivers Aux Raisins, Rouge and Huron, and at Maguago and Brownstown, all the vicinity of the white settlements ; but a far greater part inhabit the rivers that fall into the Sagaina bay and lake Michi-

\* This paragraph is in the words of an intelligent correspondent, who was attached to Col. R. M. Johnson's regiment in its excursion from Fort Wayne to the banks of the St. Joseph, of lake Michigan, in the spring of 1813.

gan. They consist of Wyandots, Ottaways and Pottemattemies.

The lesser peninsula separates lake Michigan from lake Superior. It is a tongue of land about 90 miles in length, and 36 in breadth. The sterility of its soil renders it of very little importance, other than in a military point of view. At the entrance of lake Michigan, and about twenty miles to the west of Fort Michilimackinac, is the village of L'Arbre Croché, inhabited by a band of Ottawas, boasting of 250 fighting men. Here is settled a French missionary priest, who resides on a farm. They are considerably civilized, and raise corn for the market of Michilimackinac.

In addition to the two peninsulas already mentioned, are numerous islands, constituent parts of the territory, and situated in the straits and in the lake. The most important of these is Michilimackinac, situated at the north west angle of lake Huron, towards the entrance of the channel, which forms the communication with lake Michigan, in about 46 degrees of north latitude. It is of a round form, irregularly elevated, and light sandy soil. The Fort\* consists of four wooden block-

\* In 1762, the Saakie and Chippeway Indians surprised the British garrison, and massacred nearly every soul. The success and ingenuity of the stratagem renders it interesting to military readers. These Indians have a game they call *bag-gat-i-way*; it is played with a bat and ball. The bat is about four feet in length, curved and terminating in a kind of racket. Two posts are planted in the ground at the distance of half a mile or more. Each party has its post, and the game consists in throwing the ball up to the post of the adversary. The ball, at the beginning, is placed in the middle of the course, and each party endeavors to divert the ball from its own post, and to throw it into



houses forming the angles, the spaces between them being filled up with cedar pickets—it has an area of two acres. There are heights within cannon shot distance that overlook the fort. Between the fort and the water are several stores and about 30 dwelling houses. The houses are neat in their appearance, and tolerably commodious; there is a church in which mass is said. While in possession of the British, the place was the general rendezvous of the north west traders and the Indians they supplied. Here the out fits were prepared for the countries of lake Michigan and the Mississippi, lake Superior and the north west; and here the return of furs were collected and embarked for Montreal. It is still a place of great resort.

that of its adversaries. The game is attended with much violence and noise. These two nations fixed on a day to display their skill at *bag-gat-i-way*, and for a high wager. In the midst of the play, and at a time when a great part of the garrison had been drawn to the scene from motives of curiosity, the ball was designedly but artfully driven within the pickets of the fort. This was the signal for the work of death. The greater part rushed into the fort, all struggling and shouting as though in pursuit of the ball, and instantly commenced killing the whites, whose numbers were about 100. An English trader concealed in the house of one of the French inhabitants, beheld the massacre, from an aperture which afforded him a view of the area of the fort. He describes it as follows: “I beheld, in shapes the foulest and most terrible, the ferocious triumphs of barbarian conquerors. The dead were scalped, and mangled; the dying were writhing and shrieking under the insatiated knife and tomahawk, and from the bodies of some, ripped open, their butchers were drinking the blood, scooped up in the hollows of joined hands, and quaffed amid shouts of rage and victory.”



Detroit is the chief town of the territory ; it is situated on the right bank of the strait, nine miles below lake St. Clair, and eighteen above Brownstown. The town contains about two hundred houses, which are inhabited by upwards of twelve thousand inhabitants. The suburbs extend up the river as far as lake St. Clair, and down as far as the river Rouge, exhibiting a pleasant and populous street of 14 miles extent. The principal street runs parallel with the river, and upon a bank of from 20 to 30 feet above the surface of the water. There are several elegant stone and brick buildings, though the houses are for the most part of wood. To every house there is a garden attached. The farms are only twenty rods wide on the river, and extend back upwards of a mile.

No country in the world affords a richer field for fowling and fishing. The forests are plentifully supplied with various kinds of game.

The fort stands on a handsome eminence of moderate height, about 200 yards in the rear of the town. The fortifications consisted (at the time Gen. Hull's army arrived at Detroit)\* of a fort of well constructed ramparts of earth, surrounded by a ditch, defended by a double row of pickets—between this and the town, is a stockade enclosing about two acres of ground. The area of the fort is about an acre and a half. There are extensive commons in the rear of the fort, skirted by boundless and almost impenetrable woods, which afford an easy and safe retreat to a savage foe.

\* The works of the fort have since been greatly improved. It is now called Fort Shelby.

*Sketches of that part of Upper Canada, which was the scene of Gen. HULL's military operations.*

AT the north west corner of lake Erie, comes in Detroit river, a broad deep stream, of sufficient water at all seasons to float a 20 gun brig. Immediately at the mouth of this river is situated the village of Amherstburgh, and a few rods above stands the fort of Malden. The village is pleasantly situated on the margin of an immense plain—the lake and river in full view. It contains about 150 houses, partly framed and partly of hewn logs. It is no doubt destined to become a place of wealth and importance.\* There is not, perhaps, a place on the great lakes, that possesses greater conveniences for shipbuilding. The descent of the shore is in a proper angle for launching; the water is deep; the harbor secure, and timber can be floated to the spot in any quantity, and at a short distance. Opposite the place, at the distance of 200 yards, lies the Island of *Bois Blanc*, on which is a battery and flag staff. This island of right belongs to the United States, as the ship channel is between this and the town.

\* In “*Campaigns of the N. W. Army*,” published by the author, in March, 1814, is found the following unjust description of this village. “Its appearance is worthy of its character—as dark and as gloomy as Erebus.” These words were penned in a moment of disgust, excited by the recollection of past sufferings, extortion and inhumanity of the inhabitants, and gloomy weather experienced at the place.

The inhabitants are composed of renegado or loyal Americans, Canadian French, and a few Scotch. The greater part are distinguished by a deeprooted hatred of the Americans. Several agents for the Indian department reside here. It is here that the Indians, hostile to the United States, receive their presents, their arms and ammunition, and many of their prejudices; it is here that the scalping knife and tomahawk is openly *subsidized*. It is here that the savage returning from his murderous excursions on our defenceless frontiers, is carressed and rewarded according to his success. Many of the inhabitants, disguised with paint and the habiliments of Indian costume, fought at the battles with Harmer, St. Clair and Wayne. This long and familiar intercourse with the savages, has not been without its moral effect. White men have acquired the ferocity of their tawny associates. The softer sex has not escaped the influence. It is a FACT, that the exhibition of *human* scalps, in the streets, in the most terrific forms, by the Indians, produces no emotion of horror, even in the female bosom! The spectacle has become so familiar to the eye, that it has lost the interest of novelty, and is viewed with as much indifference as we behold the ordinary objects of nature.

The whole Peninsula of upper Canada, is a champaign country. The lake coast is settled to point au Pelie, 30 miles east of Malden. This point forms a considerable projection into the lake, and is the most southerly spot of all the British territories on the continent of North America. Between this point and Malden, the river *Aux Cedres* runs into lake Erie. The Indian villages of Brownstown and Maguago, are nearly oppo-



site Malden. The country in the rear of the fort is settled to the distance of 20 miles. The strait, or river above the fort, is divided into two channels by *Graze Isle*, about 5 miles long. About midway of this Island on the Canada shore of the river, is a considerable Indian village; 5 miles from the town, in the direction of lake St. Clair comes in the river *Aux Connards*; a deep, muddy and sluggish stream, about 80 yards wide; then commences the flourishing French settlement, called *Le Petite Cote*. Six miles from *Aux Connards*, runs in *Turkey river*, an inconsiderable stream, but deep and muddy. It is 7 miles from this to *Sandwich*, nearly opposite *Detroit*. The whole distance is through a rich, delightful and populous settlement. This place has increased in buildings and improvements very rapidly. There is a jail and court house. Both sides of the straits exhibit a most cheering prospect in summer. Peaches, apples, grapes and almost every other species of fruit, are here produced in the greatest perfection and abundance. In the vicinity of *Sandwich*, a mission of the *Hurons* is established. Ten miles above *Sandwich* is found the lake *St. Clair*, nearly in a circular form, 30 miles in diameter, and 100 in circumference; of regular depth, and about three fathoms water. Twenty miles from *Sandwich*, the *Le Belle* river runs into lake *St. Clair* from the east; this is a small stream 50 yards wide; 15 miles farther in the direction of the mouth of the *Thames* is seen the river *Ruskin*, running westerly into lake *St. Clair*. The river *la Franche* or *Thames* disembogues its waters on the southeast side of the lake. It is about the size of the *Mohawk*, *Shenandoah*, or *Kentucky*; its course a little south of east; its banks are covered by natural meadows and tracts of wood lands.

The river is navigable for small vessels to the forks 15 miles from the lake. Here is the town of Chatham founded by Gov. Simcoe. Twenty miles higher up is the Moravian Indian village. The distance from this to the head of lake Ontario is 140 miles. The road leaves the river at the Indian village, and strikes it again at Delaware, 25 miles higher up, it then crosses it and continues through London, Oxford, &c. and crosses Grand River near the Mohawk villages. In the township of Delaware is a valuable pine forest belonging to the crown. A little below this on the left bank of the Thames, is the Munsee Indian village. The land in this part of the upper province is rich and admirably calculated for farms; on the river, rich bottoms; then a gentle rise of beautifully timbered land, to which succeed openings well calculated for raising wheat.

This part of the country is healthy, and settled principally by Americans, partial to the United States. On the margin of the straits and lakes St. Clair and Erie, the most of the inhabitants are French, who, (excepting those resident in the vicinity and within the corrupting influence of Malden,) are unquestionably friendly to the United States. The country produces great quantities of wheat beyond the consumption of the inhabitants. It was the opinion of Gov. Simcoe, that the Peninsula formed by the lakes Ontario, Erie, St. Clair, Huron, Simcoe &c. would alone furnish a surplus sufficient for the wants of G. Britain. The climate is about as mild as that of the western counties of the State of New-York. Extensive and valuable tracts of land have been reserved by the British crown.



*Invasion of Canada.*

IT will now be necessary to return to the head quarters of Gen. Hull, and resume the detail of military movements. Three miles below Detroit, are the Spring wells or Belle Fontaine. The bank is here about 30 feet high, and presents one of the finest prospects imaginable. It affords a full view of the Canadian shore for 10 or 15 miles. The soil is dry ; the water excellent.

On the morning of the 6th of July, Col. Cass was dispatched with a flag of truce to Malden, commanded at that time by Lieut. Col. St. George.\* The object of his mission was to obtain a restitution of the baggage and prisoners taken by the British in the schooner dispatched by the general, from the rapids of the Miami. In this demand, he failed. He returned to camp accompanied by Capt. Burbanks, of the British army. If it were unwise to send the baggage of the army under the guns of the enemy's fort, exposing it to inevitable capture, it was worse than folly to demand its restitution.

On the 7th, five pieces of artillery were brought from Detroit and placed on the bank in front of the encampment at Belle Fontaine, in a situation to annoy the enemy at Sandwich. On the same day the general held a council with the principal Chiefs of the Wyandot, Shawannoe, Seneca, Pottowattomic and Ottaway nations. They *promised* to adhere to the United States.

\* It is not according to the rules of military etiquette to make a *superior* officer the bearer of a flag of truce, to one of *inferior* grade.



On the 8th, the encampment at Spring wells was abandoned and the army took a position in the rear of Detroit. From this time to the 12th, exertions were made to prepare for the intended invasion. The arms were repaired, and a part of the ordnance mounted on carriages. Six hundred of the territorial militia rallied under Gen. Hull's standard. The most patriotic exertions were made by the colonels, majors and captains, generally to impress upon the minds of the troops the necessity of strict obedience to orders.

The attempt of invasion would have been made on the evening of the 10th, had not the unauthorised firing of some disorderly men kept the enemy on the alert.\*

The next evening Col. M<sup>r</sup>Arthur marched his regiment to the Spring wells, for the purpose of masking the intentions of the General. A few boats accompanied the detachment; the affected noise and bustle of this movement, had the desired effect. The British officers believing that the Americans were descending the river for the purpose of attacking Malden, drew all their forces towards that post.

On the morning of the 12th, the army marched about a mile above the town, opposite the lower end of Hog

\*Maj. Munson, of Col. Cass' regiment was shot through the body, by one of those useless discharges. Contrary to expectation, he recovered from his dangerous wound and was one of the witnesses that attended the trial of Gen. Hull at Albany.

Too many accidents of this kind have occurred in our armies, in the course of the war. The practice of firing in camp, is not only a useless waste of ammunition, but endangers the lives of the men; to tolerate it, argues a lax discipline.

Island.\* The boats were in readiness. The regiments of Colonels Miller and Cass embarked and in 15 minutes effected a landing without opposition. The remainder of the troops immediately followed and the American standard was unfurled amidst the acclamations of the army and citizens of Detroit.† The troops encamped on the farm of Col. Bunbie, directly opposite Detroit.‡

The following address to the inhabitants of Canada, was issued by the General, and distributed by his orders :

*Inhabitants of Canada!*

—After thirty years of peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The army, under my command, has invaded your country; the standard of the Union now waves over the territory of Canada. To the peaceable, unoffending inhabitants, it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them. I come to protect, not to injure you.

Separated by an immense ocean, and an extensive wilderness from Great Britain, you have no participation in her councils, no interest in her conduct. You

\* Called by the French *Isle aux Cochons*.

† The General is said to have been among the last to embark; as his boat touched the Canadian shore, he was heard to exclaim, "*The critical moment draws near.*"

‡ The American camp presented the form of a hollow square. A breast work was thrown up at every side, except that bounded by the river, which was defended by artillery; it was inaccessible to an Indian attack, who never venture to expose themselves to the reach of artillery on an open plain.



have felt her tyranny, you have seen her injustice. But I do not ask you to avenge the one, or to redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford every security consistent with their rights and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessings of civil, political and religious liberty, and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity; that liberty which gave decision to our councils, and energy to our conduct in a struggle for Independence; which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the revolution; that liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world; and which offered us a greater measure of peace and security, of wealth and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any people. In the name of my country, and the authority of government, I promise you protection to your persons, property and rights; remain at your homes; pursue your peaceful and customary avocations; raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children therefore of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freedom. Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not; I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will look down all opposition, and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater. If, contrary to your own interest, and the just expectation of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered as enemies, and the horrors and calamities of



war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages are let loose to murder our citizens and butcher even women and children, THIS WAR WILL BE A WAR OF EXTERMINATION. The first stroke of the tomahawk ; the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal of an indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner ; instant death will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice and humanity cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights, and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation. I doubt not your courage and firmness ; I will not doubt your attachment to liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily. The United States offer you peace, liberty and security. Your choice lies between these and war, slavery and destruction. Choose then, but choose wisely ; and may he who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hand the fate of nations guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interests, your peace and happiness."

This proclamation was well calculated to inspire confidence and secure the friendship of the Canadians, such indeed was its influence, that the greater part of the militia in the service of the crown, actually deserted and either retired to their homes or joined the American army.

However, when our army first made its appearance on the Canada shore, the inhabitants were frightened and sought refuge in swamps and forests, from an enemy whom they were taught to believe were more cruel and rapacious than savages. Almost every house was aban-

done for miles along the Canadian side of the strait. But on perceiving that the troops were not disposed to injure their persons or property, the greater part returned to their homes in full confidence of protection, and resumed their accustomed avocations.

At this auspicious moment there appeared no conceivable obstacle to a speedy conquest of Malden, at this time indefensible and but feebly garrisoned. The troops were in high spirits, anxious to be led against the enemy. The Indians were awed into neutrality. A great majority of the inhabitants were ready and willing to aid in their deliverance from the yoke of England. Never had a commanding General a more favorable field for exertion. The road to a rich harvest of glory and fame, was open and direct. Imperishable laurels marked its course. His means were ample ; nothing appeared capable of arresting his progress. Patriotic men throughout the union expected a quick and a decisive blow. All were waiting with a torturing impatience for the "GLORIOUS NEWS" that the stars and stripes waved over the ramparts of blood stained Malden. Alas ! what a cruel disappointment were they doomed to suffer !

The day after the army landed in Canada, Capt. Henry Uln, marched with a small detachment of about 40 men, towards Malden. At Turkey river bridge, 7 miles below Sandwich, they found the bridge partly taken up and received satisfactory information that 200 Indians were in ambush, at a short distance. It was deemed prudent to return to camp, and report the circumstance to the general.

On the 4th a considerable body of Indians were known to have passed up the river in the rear of the camp. Col.



M'Arthur was immediately ordered to march in pursuit of them, with 100 men from his own regiment, a rifle corps from Col. Fiudley's and a small detachment from Capt. Sloan's company of cavalry. They marched without provisions and without blankets. The detachment proceeded to Belleriver, about twenty miles from Sandwich, where the Colonel purchased a beef and some flour and whiskey for his men. At the mouth of the river Raisin, they discovered the Indians ascending the river in canoes. The Colonel and the cavalry pursued them; but as soon as our men came up with them, they took themselves to a thick woods, after having received the fire of the Colonel and his men. He took a number of horses which the Indians had left in their camp.

The party then continued their march to the mouth of the Thames\* and ascended this river as far as Dalson's Mills. In descending the river, they loaded all the water craft, with provisions, blankets and military stores which were sent down the lake (St. Clair) to head quarters. They took a stand of colors and disarmed a number of militia. The property was all receipted by Col. M'Arthur. Thus, this small detachment penetrated 70 miles into the most populous part of Upper Canada. They returned to camp on the evening of the 17th July. †

\* ISAAC HULL, brother to the General, resides at the mouth of this river. A corporal and six soldiers were found stationed at his house as a *guard du corps*. Col. M'Arthur disarmed them.

† One of Col. M'Arthur's men gives the following picture of the country through which they marched. "Probably there is no part of upper Canada, more beautiful or more prolific than that bordering on the river Franche, and that part of lake St. Clair immediately



About this time another small party were sent to Belle Donne for the purpose of securing several hundred Merino Sheep,\* the property of the earl of Selkirk. These sheep were driven to Detroit, where they fell into the hands of the British at the capitulation of Detroit.†

Deserters crowded in from Malden. Several were known to return to the enemy after having fully inspected the camp and ascertained the number of the American troops.

On the 16th Col. Cass and Lieut Col. Miller marched with a detachment of 280 men to the bridge over the Aux Connards, to reconnoitre the enemy's advance post. They found them in possession of the bridge. Col. Cass left one company of riflemen to conceal themselves near the bridge, with directions to commence firing on his appearance on the opposite side of the river, in order to divert their attention and throw them into confusion. The remainder of the detachment then ascended the stream 5 miles to a ford, and from thence down on the Malden side, to the enemy, whom he attacked and drove from their position. This was the first time since the revolution that *American militia* had come

adjacent. The fields of wheat and Indian corn had a most charming effect. Vast quantities of wheat remained ungathered."

\* It is difficult to account for Gen. Hull's motive, for *making war upon sheep!*

In 1813, when Gen. Harrison penetrated to the Thames, these Sheep had been replaced upon the Earl's farm, and were not molested by the troops.

† It is worthy of remark, that this tour of 140 miles was performed in four days, and on four meals of provisions which were purchased by Col. M'Arthur, and paid for.

in contact with *British regulars*. Our men moved to the attack with great spirit. Three times the enemy formed, and as often retreated. Night compelled the Americans to relinquish the pursuit. The enemy had several killed\* and wounded, only two prisoners were taken. Col. Cass encamped on the scene of action during the night, and on the 18th returned to camp.† Col. Miller, on this occasion conducted in a most spirited and able manner.

Immediately after this, small detachments under the commands of Capt. Snelling, Col. Findley, Col. M'Arthur, and Major Denny, were successively sent to the banks of the Aux Connards; *perhaps*, to discover the force and position of the enemy.‡

\* A British soldier, who was killed, and afterwards buried by the detachment, was taken up by the Indians and scalped; this trophy was taken to Malden and presented to the commandant; who paid the Indians their premium, believing that it was actually the scalp of an American drummer.

† If, at this time, the enemy had been in force at Malden, why did they not make Col. Cass pay dear for his temerity, in thus daring to sleep with a small detachment, 14 miles from the American camp, and within less than five miles of their only depot of men and stores?

‡ At this time the following extraordinary general order appeared, to disgrace the American military character:

*Head Quarters Sandwich, July 18th 1812.*

#### **GENERAL ORDERS.**

Whereas the private property, consisting principally of necessary clothing of the officers and soldiers of this army, has been seized by the British force, and is detained at Malden, or its dependencies, notwithstanding application has been made for a restitution of it. In



Col. Findley found the bridge in possession of the enemy. They had erected a breast work of felled trees on the opposite shore. The Queen Charlotte had moored in a suitable position to defend it.

On the 19th Col. M'Arthur was ordered to the Aux Connards to relieve the men previously detached under Capt. Snelling and Col. Findley. The Colonel had orders from the general not to cross the bridge nor to go within reach of the guns of the Queen Charlotte. The detachment having arrived within rifle shot distance of the enemy, a fire was commenced by our men. The famous Indian Chief Marpot with a few followers instantly crossed the bridge upon the sleepers, advanced several rods towards our men and commenced firing. But this daring chieftain soon paid for his boldness, by receiving a dangerous wound, which brought him full length to the ground;\* he was borne from the spot by his comrades, who soon retreated beyond the bridge. The day was spent in skirmishing and reconnoitering. Col. M'Arthur and Adjutant Puthuff, narrowly escaped falling into an ambush of the Indians. The Colonel's horse was shot under him. In the evening the detach-

order to remunerate those officers and soldiers who have suffered, the general *directs* that all *personal property of officers now serving in the British army at the aforesaid post, shall be taken* under special orders from the general, and delivered to the Quarter Master General for safe keeping until the orders of the government are known on the subject.

WM. HULL, *Brigadier General Commanding.*

\* He recovered, and afterwards fought at the river Raisin and the battle of the Thames; when he abandoned the cause of the British.



ment returned to Le Petite Cote settlement. Tecumseh pursued and fired on the rear guard. The Colonel suddenly faced about and gave orders for a general fire. All the Indians fell flat on the ground, except Tecumseh, who stood firm on his feet with apparent unconcern. A want of ammunition prevented further offensive operations. The detachment continued its march towards camp without further molestation. At the Turkey river bridge Col. Cass and Major Trimble met the detachment with a fresh detachment; the next day they returned to the bridge, fired on the enemy, and were fired on in turn. The firing was brisk but not effective. Tecumseh was conspicuous on this occasion. Finding it impossible to operate successfully against superior numbers strongly posted, Col. M'Arthur returned to camp.

On the 21st the General passed over to Detroit where he continued until the 26th. During his absence, the command of the army devolved on Col. M'Arthur, who ordered Capt M'Culloch to examine the country in the rear of the direct road to Malden, in order to ascertain whether a back road could not be made so as to avoid the bridge across the Aux Connards. He explored the country between Sandwich and that river, and reported unfavorably.

The Indians continuing to show themselves in the Petite Cote settlement, Major Denny marched on the evening of the 24th with a detachment of 117 men, consisting of three companies under captains Lucas, Pinney and Rose. They reached the French settlement a little before daylight. They secured a militia captain of the name of Bontee, from Malden, in the guise of a farmer. He was considered as a spy, and sent to camp,

After marching and counter marching till near midday, within view of the enemy's advanced posts, the troops halted, for the purpose of resting, under a convenient shade. The men had mostly fallen asleep, when the Major perceived a body of Indians at only 15 yards distance; his presence of mind saved the party: he instantly exclaimed in a stentorian voice, "*Rush like hell boys and fire well!*" The order was promptly obeyed, and seven of the savages fell on the spot, and the residue fled in consternation.

But they soon rallied with increasing numbers and were seen on horseback, and on foot taking a circuitous route to throw themselves into the rear of the detachment and cut off their retreat to camp. The Major made a movement in order of battle, to prevent the intentions of the enemy. As he approached a point of woods which he attempted to gain before the Indians, he received a heavy fire. Confusion ensued; a complete route was the consequence. Their only alternative was to gain the road. They were pursued through fields of wheat and corn and prickly ash thickets for nearly three miles. At Turkey river they were relieved by Gen Lucas and a number of riflemen, who hearing of the engagement, had come to their assistance. The Americans had seven killed and several wounded.\*

Such was the nature of the *Petite guerre* maintained near the Aux Connards, while our troops remained in Canada. It had no visible object, and served only to re-

\* Capt. M'Culloch, of the spies, scalped an Indian, whom he killed in the engagement. Fourteen dead Indians were afterwards found in the woods and wheat fields by the farmers who lived near the scene of the action.



press the ardor of our troops and encourage the enemy.

In the mean while, Michilimackinac surrendered to the British without resistance. The indefatigable Brock, with a reinforcement of 400 regulars arrived at Malden : And several Indian tribes, before hesitating in the choice of sides, began to take their ground and array themselves under the British standard.

The garrison of Michilimackinac capitulated on the 17th July. The anglo savage forces amounted to upwards of 1000 men, consisting of British regulars, Canadian militia, Scioux, Winnebago, Felle Auvine, Chippeway and Ottaway Indians. Lieut. Hanks, the commander of the fort being apprized of the hostile intentions of several Indian chiefs, (who but a few days before, had professed the greatest friendship for the United States,) dispatched Capt. Daurman of the militia, a confidential person, to St. Joseph's, to watch their motions ; but the latter met the allied forces within fifteen miles of the island, by whom he was made prisoner, and put on his parole of honor. He was landed upon the island of Michilimackinac with positive directions to give no intelligence to the garrison whatever. He was also instructed to take the inhabitants of the village indiscriminately to a place on the west side of the island, where their persons and property should be protected by a British guard ; but should they go to the fort, they would be subject to a general massacre by the savages which would be inevitable, if the garrison fired a gun. In the mean time Lieut. Hanks had caused the ammunition to be placed in the block houses, ordered the guns charged, and made every necessary preparation for defence. At 9 o'clock on the morning of the 17th, the enemy were discovered in possession of the heights

which command the fort, with a piece of cannon directed against the most defenceless part of the garrison. The Indians were to be seen at this time in great numbers in the edge of the woods. At half past 11 o'clock the enemy sent in a flag of truce demanding a surrender of the fort and island to his Britannic majesty's forces. This was the first intimation he had of the declaration of war. The lieutenant had however anticipated the event, and was probably as well prepared for resistance as he otherwise would have been with so small a command, amounting only to fifty seven effective men, including officers. The allied forces had two pieces of artillery, and were provided with ladders and ropes for the purpose of scaling the works if necessary. The officers of the garrison and the American citizens present, were consulted, who gave Lt. Hanks their unanimous opinion that it would be impossible for the garrison to hold out against such a superior force. The fort and island was accordingly surrendered.\*

About the time the news of the fall of Michilimackinac was received in camp; an express arrived from Chilicothe that Capt. Henry Brush with a company of volunteers, was approaching Detroit with provisions. The Colonels of the Ohio volunteers applied frequently to the General for a sufficient force to meet the convoy at the river Raisin, and escort it in safety to Detroit. All their endeavors for some days were unavailing. The General appeared totally indifferent about the arrival of the provisions or the safety of the convoy. At this period sup-

\* The above account of the surrender of Michilimackinac, is nearly in the words of Lieut. Hanks' official dispatch.



plies could not be received from any other quarter except Canada, the British having entire command of the navigation of lake Erie.

At length, however, he gave permission for a detachment of 200 men under the command of Major Van Horne, to march to the river Aux Raisin, for the double purpose of guarding the mail to that river, and of escorting the party under Capt. Brush to camp.

Major Van Horne crossed the river on the 4th of August, and descended the American bank as far as the *Big Appletree*, between the Indian villages of Maguago and Brownstown, where some Indian paths branch from the road. Capt. M'Culloch of the spies unfortunately took one of these traces, accompanied only by a black servant. He had not proceeded far, before he was fired on by the Indians; killed on the spot, scalped, and tomahawked within rifle shot distance of the main body of the Americans. Thus fell the brave, generous and patriotic M'Culloch, captain of the Spies.

Major Van Horne, was here informed by a Frenchman that 3 or 400 Indians and a party of British were near Brownstown in ambush for the purpose of intercepting the detachment. The Major continued his march, disregarding the report. When he had advanced within a short distance of Brownstown, where the road passes through a narrow prairie, bounded on the right by a deep miry creek, the opposite bank of which was covered with a thick growth of underwood: On the left were a number of small Indian cornfields and thickets. Through this defile the detachment had to march which compelled the two columns to incline within 40 yards of each other. It was when the troops were cooped up in this cramped situation that the Indians,

who were concealed in the thickets on both sides of the road, poured in an unexpected but destructive fire. The fire was quickly returned; but the enemy having the advantage of position as well as a decided superiority of numbers, the only alternative became a hasty retreat, supported by halting every favorable opportunity, and firing on the enemy. The cowardice of a few in the rear probably saved the detachment from total massacre; for such was their precipitate flight, that they outran a party of British and Indians, who were detached for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the Americans. The enemy continued a close pursuit for four miles. The loss of the Americans was 17 killed and about 20 wounded; that of the enemy from the best information was supposed to be about equal. Among the killed, were captains Ulry, Gilchrist, and Boerstler; Lieut. Pentz and ensign Roby. Their remains were shockingly mangled by the Indians. The serious loss of officers on our part is attributable to their repeated efforts to rally their men. Major Van Horne, though unsuccessful, conducted as became a brave officer. And we readily find an apology for his incredulity in not believing the information given by the Frenchman, in the too frequent deceptions of the Michiganiau French.

The Colonels again solicited the General for permission for either of them to lead a detachment before Brownstown, sufficient to bury the dead, and to force open the communications with the river Raisin. For these purposes 500 men were required, but the General refused in positive terms, to permit more than 100 to go on the expedition.

On the 6th August, a council was convened at the General's quarters, consisting of all the field officers



and Capt. Dyson and Lieut. Eastman, of the artillerists, when it was agreed by all, except the two last, to make an immediate descent on Malden.

If, by waiting two days, they could have the service of their heavy artillery, it was agreed to wait, if not, it was determined to go without it, and attempt the place by storm. This opinion appeared to correspond with the views of the commander in chief, and the day was appointed for commencing their march. General Hull declared to the officers that he considered himself pledged to lead the army to Malden. The ammunition was placed in the waggons; the cannon were placed on the floating batteries, and every requisite article was prepared. The spirit and zeal, the ardor and animation displayed by the officers and men, on learning the near accomplishment of their wishes, ought to have inspired the commanding General with confidence of a successful result to the enterprise.\*

\* The following general order was issued by the General on the occasion.

*Sandwich, 7th August, 1812.*

Doctor Edwards will take charge of the medical and surgical departments until further orders, and will immediately make every preparation for the army to take the field against the enemy. All the tents and baggage of the army, not necessary, will be immediately transported to Detroit. The boats not necessary for the movement of the army will be sent to Detroit. An officer and twenty five *convalescents* will be left at the fort at Gowies, with a boat sufficient to carry them across the river if necessary. All the artillery, not taken by the army, will be sent immediately to Detroit. The army will take seven days provisions; three days provisions will be drawn from tomorrow morning, and will be cooked, and the residue will be taken in waggons.

But at the moment when every one was engaged in cooking, or in repairing their arms, eagerly and constantly expecting to commence their march for Malden; orders were received to strike their tents and *recross the river to Detroit!*

Thus was the plan of attacking Malden abandoned without an adequate or conceivable motive, without an effort to redeem the pledge of the commanding general! The Canadians, who had joined the American army in full confidence of protection, were abandoned to the vengeance of their old masters.

The small stockade erected in an injudicious position about a mile above the encampment was left in charge of Major Denny and about 130 *convalescents*, who were provided with boats, to effect a retreat to Detroit if they should be incapable of maintaining their post.

The next event worthy of notice, is the battle of Manguaga.

“The main body of the army having recrossed the river at Detroit, on the night and morning of the 8th August, six hundred men were immediately detached under the command of Col. Miller, to open the communication to the river Raisins, and protect the provisions, which were under the escort of Capt. Brush. This de-

Pork will be drawn for the meat part of the rations, one hundred axes, fifty spades and twenty pick axes will be taken by the army; and a raft of timber and plank, suitable for bridges will be prepared and floated down with the batteries. Six long canoes will attend the floating batteries. Only one days whiskey will be drawn each day, and twelve barrels will be taken in waggons; all the artificers and all men on any kind of extra duty, will immediately join their regiment.

Signed,

W. HULL.



tachment consisted of the 4th United States' regiment, and two small detachments under the command of Lieut. Stansbury and Ensign M'Cabe of the 1st regiment; detachments from the Ohio and Michigan volunteers, a corps of artillerists, with one six pounder and an howitzer under the command of Lieut. Eastman, a part of Captains Smith and Sloan's cavalry commanded by Capt. Sloan of the Ohio volunteers. Lieut. Colonel Miller marched from Detroit on the afternoon of the 8th inst. and on the 9th, about four o'clock, P. M. the vanguard, commanded by Capt. Snelling, of the United State's regiment, was fired on by an extensive line of British troops and Indians, at the lower part of Maguaga, about fourteen miles from Detroit. At this time the main body was marching in two columns, and Capt. Snelling maintained his position in a most gallant manner, under a very heavy fire, until the line was formed and advanced to the ground he occupied, when the whole, excepting the rear guard, was brought into action. The enemy were formed behind a temporary breast work of logs, the Indians extending in a thick wood on their left: Lieut. Colonel Miller ordered his whole line to advance, and when within a small distance of the enemy, made a general discharge and proceeded with charged bayonets, when the whole British line and Indians commenced a retreat. They were pursued in a most vigorous manner about two miles, and the pursuit discontinued only on account of the fatigue of the troops, the approach of evening, and the necessity of returning to take care of the wounded. The judicious arrangements made by Lieut. Col. Miller, and the gallant manner in which they were executed, justly entitle him to the highest honor. From the moment the line

commenced the fire, it continually moved on, and the enemy maintained their position until forced at the point of the bayonet. The Indians on the left under the command of Tecumseh, fought with great obstinacy, but were continually forced and compelled to retreat. The victory was complete in every part of the line, and the success would have been more brilliant had the cavalry charged the enemy on the retreat, when a most favorable opportunity presented. Although orders were given for the purpose, unfortunately they were not executed. Majors Van Horne and Morrison of the Ohio volunteers, were associated with Lieut. Col. Miller, as field officers in this command, and were highly distinguished by their exertions in forming the line and the firm and intrepid manner they led their respective commands to action.

Major Muir of the 41st regiment, commanded the British in this action. The regulars and volunteers consisted of about four hundred, and a larger number of Indians. Maj. Muir and two subalterns were wounded, one of them since died. About forty Indians were found dead on the field, and Tecumseh their leader was slightly wounded. The number of wounded Indians who escaped, has not been ascertained. Four of Major Muir's detachment have been made prisoners, and fifteen of the 41st regiment killed and wounded. The militia and volunteers attached to his command were in the severest part of the action, and their loss must have been great; it has not yet been ascertained.\*

At the commencement of the action Col. Miller was thrown from his horse and continued on foot during the

\* The description of this battle, thus far, are in the words Gen. Hull, & are believed to be strictly correct.



engagement, and proved himself by his courage and judicious arrangements, equal to a more responsible command.

In this engagement, all the officers and men, with the exception of Capt. Sloan of the Cincinnati dragoons and Capt. Hull, son to the General, fought bravely. Several officers were wounded. Capt. Baker was wounded in the leg. Lieut. Larrabee lost an arm. Lieut. Peters of the 4th; Ensign Whistler of the 17th; Lieut. Sibly of the Michigan militia; and Ensign Flesher of the Ohio volunteers were also wounded. Capt. Snelling, who received the first of the enemy's fire maintained an unequal contest in a most gallant manner, until the main body advanced to his relief, when the cavalry under Capt. Sloan could not be made to charge, he mounted a horse and offered to lead them in person. Capt. Brown and Sanderson who commanded companies of Ohio volunteers, on the right wing, acted with great gallantry. Capt. Decant and Brevort, of the Michigan militia, particularly distinguished themselves. Of the Americans 18 were killed, and 60 wounded.

The circumstances of this battle were such as to put the courage of the Americans to a severe test. Our troops had to contend with a force one third larger than their own. Five hundred Indians, almost naked, and frightfully painted, led on and encouraged by British officers and savage chiefs, rising suddenly from their hiding places, presented a scene sufficient to appal the stoutest heart. But American valor rose superior to every obstacle. Both sides fought bravely. An American officer observed several arrows to strike the ground near his feet, almost in a perpendicular direction; his curiosity was excited, and on looking up to discover from

whence they came, he perceived an Indian perched on a tree thirty feet from the ground, and but a few paces in advance. He ordered his men to fire and he came tumbling down through the branches like a dead bear. He had provided himself with a fawn skin stuffed with arrows, many of which he had dexterously discharged at our men.

Col. Miller encamped on the battle ground, and sent an express to Gen. Hull with information of his success, requesting at the same time a supply of provisions for the detachment.

Colonel M'Arthur, on the evening of the 10th, received orders from General Hull to take one hundred men from his regiment and to proceed in boats to the encampment of Col. Miller, with 600 rations, and to return to Detroit with the wounded. Col. M'Arthur made immediate application to David Baird, the contractor, for the number of rations ordered. This man, who had uniformly imposed on the troops, could not be prevailed upon to issue the requisite quantity of rations until 9 o'clock the next morning, when the colonel lost no time in executing his orders; after delivering his provisions to Col. Miller, and permitting as many of his men as were willing, to remain with the detachment, he made every exertion to place the wounded in the boats. But in consequence of the numbers that volunteered to remain with Col. Miller, the boats were thinly manned. The Colonel rowed one boat himself, which was steered by a wounded soldier. Soon after they left the camp, a signal gun was fired at Malden, and the brig Hunter made her appearance and commenced firing on the boats. The men.



immediately put to shore, and all that were able ran across a swampy prairie to the woods, leaving the wounded in the boats to the protection of the Colonel and two or three others. At this critical juncture, the energy, affability and humanity of Col. M'Arthur shone with conspicuous luster. Having secured his boat, he prevailed on the men to return to their duty ; distributed whiskey ; invited them to drink freely ; related the anecdote of the Indian drinking the contents of his bottle as he was about to be precipitated over the cataract of Niagara, and finally induced them to brave the fire of the brig by rowing to a point within blank shot of the Hunter, and where the woods approached within a short distance of the water. Here he landed, and ordered the men to assist in carrying the wounded into the woods, setting the example himself. They were then conveyed in waggons to Detroit. During the time that the wounded were passing from the boats to the woods, and while the waggons continued in reach of the guns of the brig, she kept up an incessant fire.

On the 11th Col. Miller received peremptory orders to return to Detroit, where he arrived early on the 12th. A boat bearing a white flag, was this day seen descending the river to Sandwich, where it was known that Gen. Brock had arrived with the 41st regiment. The appearance of this flag excited almost universal disgust in the army ; because, from the manner in which flags of truce had been treated by the enemy,\* the General

\* At the time Col. Cass first marched to Aux Connards Capt. Brown, by command of Gen. Hull, bore a white flag to Malden ; just as he had left the shore, on his return, he was repeatedly fired at, by the Indians in full view of the British troops and citizens of Amherstburgh.

had promised the Colonels that no more should be sent.

Cols. M<sup>r</sup>Arthur, Cass and Findley called on the General to know why a white flag was sent to the enemy; the General said that it was sent without his authority, and denied having any knowledge of its departure or its object. The colonels then offered to examine into the affair, and have the offender punished. The general appeared much disconcerted at their determined conduct, and observed that he would enquire of Capt. Hickman, (a volunteer aid) whether he had authorised any person to go to the enemy's camp with a flag. After an absence of a few minutes, he returned and stated that Capt Hickman had had a conversation with Capt. Rough on the subject, who probably had misconceived the meaning of Capt. Hickman's words!

The patriotic Colonels extended their enquiries no further, but left their general with disgust and mortification. They instantly wrote a confidential letter to Gov. Meigs advising him of the state of affairs, requesting prompt reinforcements, and expressing at the same time, their doubts of their general's fidelity.\*

In the mean while the stockade at Gowies was evacuated; Major Denny and his *convalescents* had done every thing in their power to strengthen and retain this post. After burning the works they crossed over to Detroit.

On the 13th, the British were seen marching up from Sandwich, with a train of artillery within point blank shot. The general would not permit Lieuts. Dolaby and Anderson to fire on them with their 24 pounders.

\* This letter was signed by Cols. M<sup>r</sup>Arthur, Findley and Cass, Quarter Master General Taylor, and Capt. H. Brush.



They were suffered to take a position directly opposite Detroit, where, without the least interruption they were permitted to erect a battery.

On the evening of the 14th, a detachment of 300 men, exclusive of officers, marched from the encampment by a circuitous route, in the rear of the settlements, for the river Raisin. The detachment was composed of volunteers from the regiments of Cols. M'Arthur and Cass. Col. M'Arthur remonstrated against the usual practice of sending out detachments without provisions; the general promised to send provisions after them on pack horses; but this promise was not complied with.

This route was through an almost impervious thicket; the troops could make but a slow progress. After marching about 24 miles, it was found impracticable in their debilitated state, to reach the river Aux Raisins; then 47 miles distant. A council of officers, therefore, deemed it expedient to return to camp.

On the 15th, Gen. Hull pitched a marquee in the centre of the encampment, of a most singular appearance, with red and blue stripes painted on the top and sides, which gave it a strong resemblance to the British flag! As the general had not erected a tent in camp since the 4th of July, this became an object of surprise, and evidently portentous of the issue.

About 10 o'clock two officers arrived from Sandwich, with a flag of truce, requiring the surrender of Detroit, to the arms of his Britannic Majesty.\* To this an im-

\* The following is the copy of Gen. Brock's letter to Gen. Hull.

*Head Quarters, Sandwich, August 15th, 1812.*

Sir,—The force at my disposal, authorises me to require of you the surrender of Fort Detroit. It is far

mediate and spirited refusal was returned. In the meanwhile the British were demolishing a house opposite Detroit, behind which they had erected a battery, and on the American side Lieuts. Dolaby and Anderson were engaged in building batteries and implanting their cannon. The bearers of the flag of truce having returned, the British armed vessels appeared below Sandwich and their batteries commenced a heavy fire upon the town of Detroit and the fort, but without effect. The fire was returned with spirit, and continued without interruption till 10 o'clock at night.

At the commencement of the firing, all the troops were crowded into the fort, except Col. Findley's regiment, which was stationed about 300 yards north east from the fort. Brigade Major Jessup and Quarter Master Dugan rode to Spring wells to observe the enemy at Sandwich. They concluded it was his intention to land the next morning, as the Queen Charlotte was anchored in a position to cover their troops. It was the opinion of Major Jessup that a battery could be erected at the

from my inclination to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware, that the numerous body of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honor. Lieut. Col. M'Donald and Major Glegg are fully authorised to conclude any arrangement that may lead to prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood. I have the honor to be &c.

ISAAC BROCK, *Maj. Gen.*

*Brig. Gen. HULL.*

The reply of Gen. Hull was spirited, at least in sound. He declared himself able to defend his post, and willing to abide the consequences of his refusal.



Spring wells, capable of sinking this vessel. He returned to Gen. Hull and requested permission to perform this service. The general would not consent to the measure. He then asked if he might be permitted to cross the river with 100 men, to attempt the spiking of the enemy's cannon; to which the general answered; "I will think of it."

At day light, on the morning of the 16th, the firing recommenced on both sides. About an hour before the surrender, our artillerists were ordered to desist firing upon the enemy, although they had silenced two of their guns. About 7 o'clock, the enemy had completed their landing at the Spring wells, and immediately took up their line of march for Detroit. The force landed, (according to the official account of Gen. Brock,) "consisted of 30 royal artillerists, 250 of the 41st regiment, 50 of the royal Newfoundland regiment, 400 militia, and about 600 Indians," with 3 six, and 2 three pounders. The regulars and militia moved in close column, 12 in front, upon the margin of the river, and the Indians through the woods, west of the town.

When they had advanced within reach of the guns of the fort,\* the artillerists were ordered by Capt. Forsythe and Lieut. Anderson to do their duty; but just as they were in the act of applying the matches, Capt. Dyson, the senior commandant of artillery, approached with a drawn sword, and swore that the first man who attempted to fire on the enemy, should be cut in pieces.

The British batteries now kept up a constant fire at the fort; few of the shot did execution; one, which had nearly spent its force, fell into the fort, and killed

\* The 24 pounders were each loaded with 6 dozen grape shot.

Capt. Hanks,\* Ensign Sibly and Dr. Reynolds and dangerously wounded Dr. Blood. Another passed through the gate, and killed two soldiers in the barracks. Two men outside the works were also killed. The shells mostly burst in the air.

About 10 o'clock the Indians appeared in the edge of the woods in the rear of the fort, shooting horses and the *Merino Sheep*, which had been taken from the Earl of Selkirk's farm at Belle Donne!

The fort was now filled with women and children. The men were stationed on the ramparts of the fort. At this moment an officer of the Michigan militia came riding into the fort, and enquired "if Gen. Hull expected Col. Brush to defend the town with 2 or 300 men???" The advance of the British force were now at the tanyards one fourth of a mile distant. Gen. Hull immediately on this near approach of the enemy, went into a room in the barracks, and in less than five minutes returned with a note which he handed to his son, who instantly hoisted a white flag upon a pike staff and then departed for the British advancing column. In a few minutes Capt. Hull returned accompanied by Lieut. Col. M'Donald and Major Glegg, who went immediately to the Markee pitched by Gen. Hull the preceding day. The articles of capitulation were soon signed and the two British officers mounted their horses and returned to the ground occupied by the troops of Gen. Brock. During their absence the troops in the fort were ordered to stack their arms, and those under Col. Findley were marched in. Shortly after, the British troops marched

\* The commandant of Michilimackinac at the time of its surrender; a native of the state of New York, and a brave officer.



into the fort with Gen. Brock at their head. The American forces were then marched into an adjoining garden, where the disgraceful terms of the capitulation were read to them. The anger of our men could not be restrained. The greater part shed tears of rage. Many of them, when ordered to stack their arms on the esplanade indignantly dashed them to pieces.

While Gen. Hull was surrendering the fort and town of Detroit into the hands of Gen. Brock, Col. M'Arthur was approaching the fort with his detachment, on its return from its abortive expedition towards the river Raisin. When within a mile of the fort, he was informed of its surrender. He immediately retreated to the river Rouge. From this place, Capt. Mansfield was sent with a flag of truce to the fort; on his way the Indians robbed him of his horse, arms, and the greater part of his clothing. In the evening, he returned to the detachment in company with Majors Dixon and Givens, and Capt. Elliott, of the British army, who handed the colonel the articles of capitulation. The detachment then marched to Detroit and stacked their arms in the citadel.

The batteries then commenced firing a *feu de joye*; the Indians raised the yell of triumph, and instantly commenced plundering the inhabitants, and our dragoons of their horses and accoutrements.

The following authentic anecdote will illustrate the extent of military authority, which the British officers exercise over the Indians. An American officer who had brought with him an elegant horse from Chilicthe, for which he had paid 200 dollars, was in the act of selling him to a British officer; while they were settling the price, an Indian came up, snatched the bridle from the waiter's hand, threw it over the horse's neck, mount-

ed and rode off with his prey. The horse was elegantly mounted with holsters and pistols. In this manner was private property respected and the articles of capitulation observed !

The 4th regiment was put on board the Queen Charlotte and other armed vessels and landed at Fort Erie, from thence they were marched to Quebec. The Ohio volunteers were paroled and landed at Cleveland, at the mouth of Cayahoga. The British General violated the articles of capitulation by compelling the volunteers to give up their rifles, which were private property.

The number of troops surrendered amounted to about 2500 men. The same number of arms were stacked on the esplanade and in the arsenal. There was an abundance of fixed ammunition. In the magazine was 60 barrels of powder and 150 tons of lead. There were 25 pieces of iron ordnance, and eight brass field pieces. In the contractor's store were at least 25 days provisions and in the territory an abundance of wheat, with mills for grinding any quantity of flour. To these, and other resources both in the territory and in Canada, may be added 150 pack horse loads of flour and 300 head of cattle, under the escort of Capt Brush at the river Raisin.

The army of Gen. Hull was composed of the best materials. The men were brave and patriotic ; which they proved as often as their commander gave them an opportunity to distinguish themselves. That the officers were well selected is proved by the circumstance that they have mostly been promoted for subsequent services.

The Colonels M'Arthur, Cass, Findley and Miller were beloved by their men. The Quarter Master General James Taylor, was indefatigable in the discharge of the duties of his department ; and thereby endeared himself to the whole army.



The news of the surrender of Detroit was so unexpected, that it came like a clap of thunder to the ears of the American people. No one would believe the first report. The disastrous event blasted the prospects of the first campaign, and opened the northern and western frontiers of Ohio to savage incursions.

NOTE. A court martial convened at Albany in the winter of 1814, sentenced Gen. Hull to be shot.\* The sentence was remitted by the President.

\* See Appendix E.

*Campaigns of General Harrison.*

**P**REVIOUS to the surrender of Detroit, the Governors of Ohio and Kentucky in obedience to the directions of the war department, had detached powerful reinforcements to the aid of Gen Hull. Had he deferred the capitulation but a few days longer, his army, Detroit, and the Michigan territory would have been saved.

The forces advancing to his support consisted of 2,000 militia under Brig. Gen. Payne, and a battalion of mounted riflemen under Col. R. M. Johnson, from Kentucky; a brigade of Ohio militia under the orders of Brig. Gen. Tupper and nearly 1000 regulars under the command of Gen. Winchester. They had reached the St. Mary's, when the news of the capture of Detroit was received.

The news of the loss of Gen. Hull's army cast a temporary gloom over the whole union. But for the well timed arrival of the above force a wide scene of flight and misery, of blood and desolation must have ensued. Nearly half of the territory of Ohio, must have been depopulated, or its inhabitants fallen victims to the scalping knife.

The force already upon the western frontiers of Ohio was sufficient to arrest the tide of savage invasion, but it became necessary to retrieve the honor of the American arms and to expel the invader from his cheaply acquired conquests.

A commander of military experience was wanted, all eyes, as by a common impulse, was directed to the hero



of *Tippecanoe*. The Governor of Kentucky accordingly brevetted WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, a Major General. This commission did not constitute him commander in chief of the whole north western army.

Early in September, a large Indian and British force left Malden for the Ohio frontiers. The Indians advanced to Fort Wayne\* and closely invested it. The troops under Gen. Harrison marched to its relief. The savages fled at their approach.

It was considered a favorable moment to punish the Indians for their numerous murders. The army was divided ; a part under the command of Gen. Payne, who was directed to destroy the Miami towns at the forks of the Wabash. Gen. Harrison accompanied this expedition. Four of the Indian villages were burnt, and all their corn cut up or otherwise destroyed.

The other division of the army was confided to the command of Col. Wells, and had orders to go against the village of the Pottowatemies on Elkhart, a branch of the St. Joseph of lake Michigan ; these villages are five in number and one situated on an immense prairie at the distance of 60 miles from Fort Wayne. This expedition was also successful, the towns were destroyed by the mounted battalion of Col. R. M.

\* Fort Wayne is situated at the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph rivers, which form the Miami of the lake, and not more than twelve miles from the navigable waters of the Wabash. This post is nearly in the center of the Indian settlements on this side the Mississippi. Many Indian villages lay from 12 to 60 miles from this place. Extensive prairies are found in almost every direction. There are considerable cornfields in the vicinity of the fort, which is a stockade with block houses at the angles.

Johnson. On the return of the detachment to Fort Wayne, a scouting party under the Rev. James Sugget defeated a party of Indians. A private of the name of *Andrew Johnson*, killed a Pottawatemie chief.

At this time Gen. Winchester arrived at Fort Wayne, to whom Gen. Harrison resigned the command ; because, before it was known at the seat of government, that the Governor of Kentucky had brevetted General Harrison, an order had been forwarded to Gen. Winchester, directing him to take command of the corps under Gen. Payne.

Considerable discontent and murmuring were expressed by the troops when they were informed of the change of commanders ; but the eloquence of the General soon reconciled them to the arrangement. He assured them that if any thing could soften the regret he felt at parting with men who had so entirely won his confidence and affection, it was the circumstance of his committing them to the charge of one of the heroes of the revolution, a man distinguished as well for the services he had rendered his country, as for the possession of every qualification which constitutes the gentleman.

In marching to the relief of Fort Wayne, and in the several expeditions against the Indians, the conduct of the troops was highly honorable to their characters as soldiers ; ten days, while on active and severe duty, they had scarcely a sufficiency of food to sustain them, and entirely without some articles of the ration ; and that too without complaint ; with an alacrity which could have been expected only from regular troops. But such was their personal attachment to Gen. Harrison that they would have suffered under his guidance almost any fatigue or privation without a murmur.



Gen. Harrison retired to St. Mary's to organize some volunteers. Gen. Winchester, with the army descended the Miami to fort Defiance. At Piqua Gen. Harrison met the dispatch from Washington, appointing him commander in chief of the north western army.

At fort Defiance\* Gen. Winchester found the *white* and *red* enemy in possession of the ground and too strong for his numbers. He dispatched an express to General Harrison who hastened to his relief with about 1200 mounted riflemen and musketeers, all furnished with 3 days provisions. In the mean time, however, the enemy had suddenly decamped, descending the Miami. Our troops pursued, but could not overtake the fugitives.

Gen. Harrison now resumed the command of the army. His attention was for some time confined to preparing depots of provisions, ammunition and clothing, in opening roads, building boats and erecting block houses, preparatory to attempting the execution of the grand object of the campaign.

On the 4th of October, Gen. Tupper was ordered to repair to the foot of the rapids of the Miami with the mounted force in condition for service. This movement was not executed. Gen. Tupper made a lengthy exposition of the causes which produced the failure of the expedition, in which he attempted to throw the blame on Gen. Winchester, whom he charged with giving counter orders.†

However, in Nov. Gen. Tupper with a detachment of 1000 men advanced to the rapids, for the purpose of

\* Now called Fort Winchester.

† The writer is not in possession of sufficient data to determine on whom the blame ought to rest.

driving off a party of British and Indians, who had collected there for gathering the corn, which remained in the fields. He arrived there undiscovered by the enemy, on the night of the 14th ; he immediately made dispositions for passing the river, and some of his men succeeded in getting over but the greater part missed the ford, and were in danger of being drowned. The arms of many were either lost, or wet, so that they could not be discharged. At day light the British gunboats at anchor in the river slipped their cables and dropped down the lake, but the Indians more daring than their allies crossed over on horse back, and commenced several violent attacks on our troops. They were received with firmness, driven back, and forced to recross the river with considerable loss. The Americans had four killed and three wounded.

The Wyandot chief *Split Log*, was conspicuous in leading the Indians to the attack, being mounted on a stately white charger.

Early in Decemder a detachment of 600 men under the command of Col. Campbell, marched from Franklinton against the Miami Indians. On the 17th, they arrived at a village situated on the Missisinwey, a head branch of the Wabash. They entered at full speed ; surprised it ; killed 7 warriors, and took 37 prisoners. They then descended the river 3 miles, burning three other villages in their progress, returned to the first village and encamped for the night. About an hour before the dawn of day, the sentinels were fired on by the Indians, and instantly a furious attack was commenced on the right flank of the detachment, commanded by Major Bull, who sustained and returned the fire till day light, when the enemy were charged and dis-



persed with the loss of 40 killed. The loss of the detachment was 9 killed, and about 40 wounded. Capt. Pierce, who distinguished himself was killed. Lieut. Waltz of Capt. Markle's troop of horse (from Greensburgh, Penn.) was shot through the arm; but anxious still further to exert himself, attempted to mount his horse, and while making the effort was shot through the head.

Col. Campbell, Major Ball, Capts. Trotter, M'Clelland, Hopkins, Garrard and Markle, were particularly complimented by Gen. Harrison, in a general order for their bravery and good conduct during the expedition.

The prisoners were treated with humanity; even the warriors, when they ceased resistance were spared, which is not the usual custom in expeditions against the Indians.

The sufferings of the men from cold, hunger and fatigue, in their retreat from Missisinwey, were severe. They were in the center of the Indian country. Numerous bands of exasperated savage warriors were known to be within a few hours march. They were obliged to carry their sick and wounded on litters. The weather was intensely cold; their march was slow, tedious and circumspect. At night, only half of the men could sleep, while the other were on guard. Pleurisy and bad colds afflicted nearly the whole corps. Numbers were frost bitten.

It is proper here to state that the patriotic Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, had each detached from 1500 to 2000 men to the aid of Gen. Harrison. The Pennsylvanians under Brig. Gen. Brooks, rendezvoused at Pittsburgh, and marched from thence to Mansfield in Ohio. The Virginians were under the direction of

Brigadier General Leftwich, and took the route of Chilicothe in their march to the head quarters of the north western army.

Upon the approach of winter, Gen. Harrison found that a considerable proportion of his men, were destitute of many essential articles of clothing, which could not be supplied from the scanty stock furnished by the United States. He therefore, in an animated address, made the APPEAL PATRIOTIC to the people of Kentucky and Ohio. This appeal was not made to a cold, phlegmatic people. Liberal donations of various articles of clothing and comfort were every where presented, and proper persons appointed to forward them to the army.

Gen. Harrison left the army for a few weeks, and repaired to Chilicothe, on business. The citizens invited him to a public dinner. He declined the honor of the invitation, observing, in substance that it did not become him to accept of sumptuous entertainments, while his men were exposed to the rigors of the season, enduring the fatigues of military duty, and subsisting on the coarsest of food.

On the 14th of December, the left wing of the army moved from Fort Winchester to the Rapids. At this time the Ohio troops were at Fort M'Arthur; the Pennsylvanians at Mansfield, and the Virginians at Delaware.

Gen. Harrison fixed his head quarters at Upper Sandusky. The provisions, military stores, and the trains of artillery having reached the different depots, the hopes of the nation that victory would soon crown the efforts of the north western army were cherished with confidence.

On the 14th of January, Col. Lewis, advanced from



the Rapids towards the river Aux Raisins, and on the 18th found the enemy in force and disposed to dispute the possession of the place. He attacked them in the town. The Indians raised their accustomed yell. But the noise was drowned in the returning shouts of the assailants. The Canadian militia instantly retreated. The Indians maintained the action some time, but gave way in all directions, when resolutely charged by the Americans. About 40 of the savages bit the dust. Of Col. Lewis' party, 12 were killed, and 52 wounded.

Gen. Winchester followed with a reinforcement, and took a position on the banks of the river Raisin. His whole force amounted to about 800 men; a part of which were posted behind a picket fence; the residue were encamped on an open field a little to the right of the main body and entirely uncovered.

From the river Raisin to Malden, is only 13 miles; the distance by land or water is about the same. Both banks of the river are settled to the distance of 9 miles from the lake by Canadian French or their descendants. The greater part of the inhabitants are attached to the United States. But there are some, who are fit for "treason, stratagems and crimes," and would readily seize every occasion to communicate intelligence to the British and Indians.

By some unaccountable neglect in the commanding General, the first notice which the Americans received of the enemy, was from the mouths of six nine pounders discharged at our troops on the 22d, at beating of reveille! At the moment of the commencement of the attack, Gen. Winchester and several of his officers were at their lodgings at some distance from the troops. The troops which were uncovered, sustained the contest but,

a few minutes, when broken, and overpowered by numbers, they recrossed the river and endeavored to save themselves by flight. In this attempt, they failed ; for they were met by a large body of Indians, who had gained their rear. A horrible massacre ensued. The greater part were surrounded by a horde of painted savages, yelling like a band of infernals, and literally cut to pieces. Others forced their way through the Indians and attempted to escape by running. The pursuit was continued upwards of 3 miles ; many, even of those who trusted to their heels, were overtaken and massacred. The snow several inches deep, was crimsoned with the blood of the fugitives. This part of the army, although soon routed, after they found no safety in flight, resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible, and fought desperately.

The left wing, with spartan valor maintained a determined resistance within the pickets until eleven o'clock, when a flag arrived from general Winchester, who had been taken prisoner at the commencement of the action in an attempt to rally the troops composing the right wing. Major Madison, who commanded within the pickets, perceiving no means of escape, and resistance ineffectual, as the Indians were too numerous in his rear to enable him to retreat, and, as the enemy had several pieces of cannon by the use of which they were rapidly demolishing the pickets, a capitulation became indispensable.

The loss of the Americans was unusually severe, being nearly 400 in killed, wounded and missing. Among the officers slain, were Col. Allen, and Captains Hickman, Simpson,\* Mead, Edwards and M'Cracken.

\* This patriotic officer had been elected a member of



To the enemy it was a dear bought triumph. His regulars three times advanced boldly to within pistol shot of the pickets, and as often retreated in confusion. The Americans would permit them to approach within full reach of their pieces, before they poured the leaden shower, directed with deadly aim.

During the whole of the action, a constant fire was kept up by the enemy from six pieces of cannon ; it was the effect of the cannon shot and a scarcity of ammunition, which compelled our troops to give up the contest. Against musketry, the left wing would have maintained their position till reinforcements could have arrived.

After the capitulation, the American commanding officer remonstrated with Gen. Proctor against exposing the prisoners to the vengeance of the savages. The General promised to protect them, but forgot to keep his word. They were left without the promised protection, and on the morning of the 23d, horrible to relate, the *allies* of a *christian King*, stript, tomahawked and scalped the wounded Americans, and burnt all of them who were unable to walk.

To the dead were denied the rights of sepulture. The living were for the most part stript of their clothing, plundered of their money, and their arms given to the Indians.\*

The advance of Gen. Winchester to the river Raisin was authorised. It has been said that he was overruled by his officers, and that the movement was made from motives of humanity, in order to afford succor to the

Congress in August preceding. Col. Owing his friend obtained some of his effects from the French of the M. T. in the autumn of 1813.

\* See Appendix, F.

French inhabitants on that river, who had been threatened with savage vengeance. To this disastrous and indiscreet movement, or rather to the unprepared and scattered state of the army, on the morning of the 21st of January, may be attributed the failure of Gen. Harrison's first campaign.

We cannot forbear to notice in this place a circumstance that reflects the greatest lustre on the military character of the Kentuckians. On their march from fort Defiance to the Rapids, the horses were worn out and nearly famished for want of forage. The men themselves, were destitute of many articles of the first necessity. Yet these circumstances did not in the least dampen their ardor. When the horses were no longer able to draw, these gallant sons of Mars harnessed themselves to the sleds, and in this manner, with cheerfulness and alacrity, conveyed their baggage 60 miles through frost and snow : thus, manifesting an intrepidity of character which rivals that of the heroes of Greece or Rome.

Yet these were men, whose homes, for the most part were the seats of elegance and wealth ; but their spirits were not to be broken by adversity. Notwithstanding they were compelled to travel on foot and with scarcely covering for their backs, in the dead of winter, from Malden to Buffalo, and from thence to Kentucky, a distance of 800 miles, still, not a *murmur escaped their lips* ! Their honest hearts sprung forward with the elastic hope, that their wrongs would be avenged and the day of retribution arrive.

After the defeat of Gen. Winchester, Gen. Harrison retreated from the rapids 18 miles, and took a position at Portage river. It being found impracticable to remove



all the provisions; a considerable quantity was destroyed.

On the 30th Gen. Harrison dispatched Mr. Lamont, Doctor M'Keehan and a Frenchman with a flag of truce to Malden. They encamped the first night near the Rapids, and hoisted the white flag; but this was not respected; the Indians fired upon them while asleep, killed Lamont, wounded Dr. M'Keehan and took the Doctor and the Frenchman prisoners.

Gov. Meigs having ordered out two regiments of Ohio militia, to reinforce Gen. Harrison; the army again advanced to the Rapids and commenced building fort Meigs. Gen. Crook's brigade in the mean time were busily employed in fortifying at Upper Sandusky.

Gen. Harrison having learnt that a body of Indians were collected at Presque Isle, near the mouth of the Miami, marched from his camp at the Rapids, on the 9th of February, at the head of a detachment of his army, to attack them. The enemy fled; our troops pursued almost to the river Raisin, but finding it impossible to overtake them, the troops returned to camp much exhausted with fatigue. Such was their desire to come up with the foe, that they marched nearly 60 miles in 21 hours.

On the 27th of February, a detachment of 150 men, under Capt. Langham, left the Rapids for the purpose of destroying the Queen Charlotte, near Malden; the ice was found too far decayed to accomplish the object of the expedition.

On the 15th of April a desperate rencontre took place on the Miami, a few miles below fort Meigs, between ten Frenchmen, from the river Raisin, and about an equal number of Indians. Both parties were in canoes, and they maintained the fight till the greater part on both sides were either killed or wounded.

The army were now engaged incessantly in strengthening the posts of Fort Meigs, Upper Sandusky, and Fort Stephenson. General Harrison left the army for the purpose of consulting with Gov. Meigs, and for expediting the march of reinforcements. No event of moment occurred during the remainder of the winter.

The term of service of the greater part of the militia composing the northwestern army, having expired, new levies, from Ohio and Kentucky, were ordered on to supply their places. But these not arriving in season, the Pennsylvania brigade volunteered their services for another month, to defend Fort Meigs, which was menaced with an attack. This conduct was the more honorable, as this corps had undergone incredible hardships during the winter, in dragging artillery and stores from Sandusky to the Rapids.\*

\* A private in the Petersburg volunteers, draws the following picture of a soldier's life : It describes the march of his company at the time of Winchester's defeat.—“ On the second day of our march a courier arrived from Gen. Harrison, ordering the artillery to advance with all possible speed ; this was rendered totally impossible by the snow which took place, it being a complete swamp nearly all the way. On the evening of the same day news arrived that Gen. Harrison had retreated to Portage river, 18 miles in the rear of the encampment at the Rapids. As many men as could be spared determined to proceed immediately to reinforce him. It is unnecessary to state that we were among the first who wished to advance. At 2 o'clock the next morning, our tents were struck, and in half an hour we were on the road. I will candidly confess, that on that day I regretted being a soldier. On that day, we marched thirty miles under an incessant rain ; and I am afraid you will doubt my veracity when I tell you, that in 8 miles of the best of the road, it took us over



On the 20th of April, Gen. Harrison returned to Fort Meigs, and began to prepare for the approaching storm. Patrolling parties were frequently sent out to discover the movements of the enemy, who had been discovered on the margin of the lake.

On the 26th the advance of the enemy made its appearance on the opposite shore, and after reconnoitering a few minutes, withdrew. On the 27th they returned, but were soon made to retire by the balls from the fort. Ever since the General had arrived in camp, the greatest diligence was displayed by the officers and soldiers. Fortifications of various descriptions were carried on with unparalleled exertions. Every moment of the

the knees, and often to the middle. The Black Swamp (4 miles from Portage river, and 4 in the extent) would have been considered impassable by all but men determined to surmount every difficulty to accomplish the object of their march. In this swamp you lose sight of *terra firma* altogether—the water was about 6 inches deep on the ice, which was very rotten, often breaking through to the depth of four or five feet.

“The same night we encamped on very wet ground, but the driest that could be found, the rain still continuing. It was with difficulty we could raise fires; we had no tents, our clothes were wet, no axes, nothing to cook in, and very little to eat. A brigade of pack horses being near us, we procured from them some flour, killed a hog, (there being plenty of *them* along the road;) our bread was baked in the ashes, and the pork we broiled on the coals—a sweeter meal I never partook of. When we went to sleep, it was on two logs laid close to each other, to keep our bodies from the damp ground. Good God! what a pliant being is man in adversity. The loftiest spirit that ever inhabited the human breast, would have been tamed amid the difficulties that surrounded us.”

General was occupied in directing the works. He addressed the men in a most masterly and eloquent manner on the situation in which the fortune of war had placed them, and of the importance of every man's being vigilant and industrious at his post. This address converted every man into a hero: it inspired them with a zeal, courage and patriotism never surpassed.

On the 28th the enemy commenced a very brisk fire of small arms—in the evening the Indians were conveyed over the river in boats and surrounded the garrison in every direction. Several of Col. Ball's dragoons volunteered to reconnoiter the enemy's camp, but before they had got far from the fort they were fired on by the Indians and compelled to return.

On the 29th the siege began in earnest, all communication with the other post was cut off. The firing was kept up the whole day. The enemy had progressed so far in the construction of their batteries during the night, that they afforded them sufficient protection to work by day light. A man was this day mortally wounded as he was standing near the general.

April 30—the besieged kept up a well directed fire against the enemy's batteries and considerably impeded their progress. Boats filled with men were seen to pass to the fort Meigs side of the river; this induced the General to believe that their intention was to draw his attention to their batteries, and to surprise and storm the camp in the rear. Orders were therefore given for one third of the men to be continually on guard, and the remaining two thirds to sleep with their muskets in their arms, and to be constantly prepared, at a moment's warning, to fly to their posts. These orders were strictly obeyed, and every duty performed



with cheerfulness. Notwithstanding the incessant fire of the enemy, the men were obliged to go to the river for water every night ; the well not being finished. Several of the men were this day wounded and the General being continually exposed, had several narrow escapes. During the night the enemy towed up a gun boat near the fort and fired at point blank shot for some time, but without effect. They retired from this position as soon as it was light enough for our gunners to see her.

The grand traverse was now completed, as well as several small ones in various directions. The fire from the garrison was begun with effect. During the day (May 1st) the enemy fired 256 times from their gun batteries. Their 24 pound shot passed through the pickets without cutting them down. Our gunners silenced one of their pieces several times. They did not fire so rapidly as the enemy, but with a better aim ; 8 of the Americans were wounded this day ; a bullet struck the seat on which the General was sitting, and a volunteer was at the same time wounded as he stood directly opposite to him.

On the 2d of May both parties commenced firing very early with bombs and balls, and continued it very briskly all day. Our troops had 1 killed and 10 wounded, besides several others slightly touched with Indian bullets. The enemy this day fired 457 cannon shot.

The next day commenced with a very brisk and fierce firing of bombs and cannon balls, and continued at intervals all day. They opened two batteries upon the fort, which they had established on this side of the river, within 250 yards of the rear right angle of the camp, one of which was a bomb battery. An Indian, who had

ascended a tree, shot one of our men through the head, and six were killed by the enemy's bombs. They fired 516 times during the day, and 47 times during the night.

It rained very hard on the 4th which retarded the fire of the besiegers. A new battery was discovered erecting on this side of the river, in the same direction with the others, and traverses were commenced to guard against them. Several were killed and wounded. Lieut. Gwynn killed a British officer on this side the river with a rifle. 223 shots were fired this day.

On the 5th the enemy kept up a feeble fire, but their bombs killed three of our men. Early in the day an officer arrived from Gen. Clay, with the welcome news, that a reinforcement of about 1200 Kentuckians under his command, were descending the river in 18 flat bottomed boats, at a short distance; whereupon General Harrison dispatched Capt. Hamilton with orders for Gen. Clay to detach about 800 men from his brigade, who were directed to land at a point on the left bank of the river, about a mile and a half above the fort, and march from thence to the British batteries, "take possession of their cannon, spike them, cut down their carriages and return to their boats."

The order of descending the river in boats, was the same as the order of march in the line of battle, in solid column, each officer taking position according to his rank. Col. Dudley, the eldest colonel led the van. Gen. Clay ordered Col. Dudley to take the men in the twelve first boats and execute the orders of Gen. Harrison. The detachment landed and stormed the British batteries with a trifling loss. They spiked the cannon and took several prisoners. The principal force of the enemy near the batteries were Indians. A skirmishing



was commenced and continued for a considerable length of time, until the main body of the British who were encamped nearly a mile in the rear of the batteries come up and cut off the retreat of the detachment. A severe conflict ensued which, however, soon terminated in the capture of the greater part of the detachment. About 150 effected their escape to the river. The others were either killed wounded or taken. Col. Dudley was among the killed. In his last moments he displayed the most heroic firmness. Being severely wounded in the action in the leg and temple and faint with the loss of blood, he requested a soldier to give him a gun and to leave him. When the Indians came up, he fired and killed one of them; they rushed upon him and with their tomahawks dispatched him in a most cruel manner, cutting off his legs and arms and hewing his body to pieces.

The prisoners were conducted to the enclosure of the old British fort and being but feebly guarded the Indians broke in upon them and tomahawked a number. It is said that two of the British soldiers were killed in attempting to defend them. It is certain that Tecumseh exerted himself in arresting the massacre and actually buried his tomahawk in the skull of a Chippeway chief.

After the retreat of the British from before Fort Meigs, General Harrison caused the battle ground on the left bank of the Miami, to be carefully examined, and after a diligent search, only 45 bodies of Col. Dudley's men could be found, but these were horribly mutilated.

While Col. Dudley was storming the British batteries, Gen. Clay landed on the right bank, a little above the fort. Before he landed he received a warm fire from

the Indians who had collected for preventing his getting into the fort. After landing, his men could easily have made the fort, but anxious to evince their bravery, they neglected to secure their sick and baggage and went in pursuit of the Indians, who purposely retreated the better to lure our men to destruction. Gen. Harrison perceiving their danger, directed Major Ball to sally from the fort for the purpose of stopping the pursuit and escorting them in ; he succeeded, but not till after the Indians had gained the boats, tomahawked the sick and plundered the baggage.

The same day several successful sorties were made against the enemy's works on the right bank below the fort. The sortie on the left or on the margin of the river was led by Col. John Miller, of the 19th Infantry ; with a mixed force of volunteers and regulars, not exceeding 350 men, he overthrew twice his numbers of British and Indians.

On the right the enemy had erected batteries within point blank shot of the fort. Immediately below the fort is a deep gully ; at the head of this, and at the distance of 400 yards were stationed 200 British regulars and a host of Indians for the protection of the artillerists at the guns. A detachment from the garrison ascended the gully unperceived, until they were within a few yards of the enemy, when they opened a destructive fire, carried the batteries, dispersed the enemy and made 50 prisoners.

From the 6th to the 9th, there was no firing. Flags of truce passed and repassed between the two armies. An exchange of prisoners took place. The Kentucky militia taken on the Michigan side of the river were sent by the enemy to Huron, in order to return home by that route.



On the morning of the 9th, the enemy commenced their march down the Miami, after having been before the place 14 days, during which they had discharged at the works 1800 shells and cannon balls, besides keeping up an almost incessant fire of small arms. The Indians were the first to leave the ground, being greatly dissatisfied from the severe loss they had sustained in the several actions on the 5th. They were far more numerous than their white allies.\*

The defence of Fort Meigs will rank in history among the most brilliant achievements of the war, as well on account of the obstinacy of the defence, as the daring and successful execution of the different sorties.

The situation of the garrison was sufficient to dampen the ardor and unman the energies of less determined men. Great quantities of rain fell during the siege. The soil within the pickets being clay, the constant treading of men and horses reduced the whole area of the fort to the consistence of mortar, half leg deep; and the frequent bursting of shells caused the mud to fly in showers and in every direction, giving to the officers and men the appearance of an assemblage of brick-makers.

\* "I am unable to form a correct estimate of the enemy's force. The prisoners varied much in their accounts; those who made them least, stated the regulars at 560, and militia at 800; but the numbers of the Indians were, beyond comparison, greater than have ever been brought into the field before; numbers arrived after the siege commenced. I have caused their camps on the southeast side of the river to be particularly examined, and the general opinion is, that there could not have been fewer on that side than 1000 or 1200; they were indeed the efficient force of the enemy." *Extract from Gen. Harrison's official dispatch, May 13.*

Sleep was almost a stranger to the camp. Every precaution was taken to prevent surprise. One third of the army was *always* on guard—often the whole were at their post.

The vigilance, activity and constant exposure to danger, of the commander in chief, had the best effect upon the spirit of the troops.

Numerous feats of individual heroism were performed. Gen. Harrison has already made known to the nation many of the brave men who distinguished themselves.\*

\* The following general orders will best give the names of the most conspicuous actors.

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

*Head Quarters, Fort Meigs, 9th May, 1813.*

The information received by the general, and the movements of the enemy indicating their having abandoned the siege of this post, the general congratulates his troops on having completely foiled their foes, and put a stop to that career of victory which has hitherto attended their arms. He cannot find words to express his sense of the good conduct of the troops of every description and of every corps, as well in sustaining and returning the heavy fire of the enemy, as for their assiduity and patience in the performance of those laborious duties which the occasion called for. Where merit was so general—indeed, almost universal—it is difficult to discriminate. The general cannot, however, omit to mention the names of those situation gave them an opportunity of being more particularly useful. From the long illness of Captain Gratiot, of the corps of engineers, the arduous and important duties of fortifying the camp devolved on Capt. Wood, of that corps. In assigning him the first palm of merit, as far as it relates to the transactions within the works, the general is convinced that his decision will be awarded by every individual in the camp who



After the raising the siege of Fort Meigs, the plan of the campaign was changed upon the recommendation of Gen. Harrison. Vessels were building at Erie and boats at Cleveland; until these were ready, it was determined to act on the defensive.

witnessed his indefatigable exertion, his consummate skill in providing for the safety of every point, and in foiling every attempt of the enemy, and his undaunted bravery in the performance of his duty in the most exposed situations. An unfortunate wound in the commencement of the siege deprived the general, after that time of the able services Maj. Stoddard, of the artillery, whose zeal and talents had been eminently useful. Capt. Gratiot, in the remission of a severe illness, took charge of a battery, and managed it with ability and effect. Capt. Cushing, of the artillery, and Capt. Hall, of the 17th infantry, (but doing duty with the former corps) were extremely active and attentive to their post. Col. Miller and Maj. Todd, of the 19th U. S. infantry; Majors Ball, of the dragoons, Sodwick, and Maj. Ritzer, of the Ohio militia, and Maj. Johnson, of the Kentucky militia, rendered the most important services. To each of the above gentlemen, as well as to each captain, subaltern, noncommissioned officer and private of their respective commands, the general gives his thanks and expresses his warmest approbation: also to Adjutant Brown, Mr. Peters, conductor of artillery, Mr. Lion, principal artificer, Mr. Timberlee, and to Sergeants Henderson, Tommes and Meldrum, who severally had charge of batteries and block houses. The battery managed by Sergeant Henderson was, as the enemy confessed, managed with peculiar efficacy and effect with respect to the sorties which were made on the 5th instant. The subsequent information which has been received from the prisoners, has given the troops which were engaged on those occasions additional claims upon the gratitude of their general. It is ascertained that in both instances the enemy far outnumbered our troops. The general gives his thanks to Brig. Gen.

On the 12th of May, Gen. Harrison having left Gen. Clay in command of Fort Meigs, repaired to the interior of the state of Ohio, to push on the recruiting service and prepare for the ensuing campaign.

Clay, for the promptitude with which the detachment of his brigade were landed, and the assiduity shown by him in forming them for the attack on the left. To Col. Boswell and Major Fleacher, for their gallantry and good conduct in leading them in the charge made on the enemy, and to Capts. Dudley, Simons and Medcalf, the subalterns, noncommissioned officers and privates, for the distinguished valor with which they defeated the enemy. The general has in the order of the 6th inst. expressed his sense of the conduct of the regular troops and volunteers, which were engaged in the sorties on the left flank, but he omitted to mention Capt. Sebry's company of Kentucky militia, whose gallantry was not surpassed by that of any companies who fought by their side. The Pittsburgh Blues, led by Lt. M'Gee, in the illness of their gallant captain, sustained the reputation which they had acquired at Massissinwey. The Petersburg volunteers and Lieut. Drum's detachment, discovered equal intrepidity. To the detachments from the 17th and 19th U. S. regiments, under their respective commanders, Capts. Croghan, Bradford, Langham, Elliott, and Nering, the honorable task was assigned of storming the British batteries, defended by two hundred British grenadiers and light infantry, flanked by an host of Indians and two companies of Canadian militia. Col. Miller speaks in the highest terms of the captains before mentioned, and Lieutenants Campbell, Gwynn, Lee, Kercheval and Rees, and of Ensigns Shep, Hawkins, Harrison, Mitchell and Stockton. The general requests Col. Miller, Maj. Todd, and each of the officers above named, together with all the officers, noncommissioned officers and soldiers, who were engaged on the 5th inst. to accept his thanks. The general is under the highest obligations to his staff for their conduct, as well in the action of the 5th as



In June information was received that the enemy meditated an immediate attack on Fort Meigs. The 24th regiment was then on its march to Sandusky; the General being at Franklinton, followed the regiment, and overtaking it near the Seneca towns, selected 300 of the most active men, and made a forced march to Fort Meigs. The black swamp was then in a state to render marching the most toilsome; the mud was half leg deep, and so stiff that it required great exertion to disengage the foot from it. The Colonel, Anderson,

for the assistance he received from them throughout the siege. Major Hukill, the acting inspector general, distinguished himself by his assiduity in forwarding the part of our works which was most necessary and which was most exposed to the fire of the enemy. From Major Graham, his aid de camp—his volunteer aid de camp, J. Johnson, esq. and from Lieut. O'Fallon, acting assistant adjutant general, as well as from the deputy quarter master, Mr. Eubank, he received the greatest assistance.

It rarely occurs that a general has to complain of the excessive ardor of his men, yet such appears always to be the case whenever the Kentucky militia are engaged. It is indeed the source of all their misfortunes. They appear to think that their valor can alone accomplish any thing. The general is led to make this remark from the conduct of capt. Dudley's company of the regiment, as he has understood that that gallant officer was obliged to turn his espartoon against his company to oblige them to desist from a further pursuit of the enemy, in compliance with an order from the general. Such temerity, altho' not so disgraceful, is scarcely less fatal than cowardice. And in the instance above, had it been persisted in, would have given a different result to the action, as the whole of the enemy's forces which were placed near the batteries would have been precipitated upon the rear of our detachment. The pursuit

and the Lieut. Col. Gaines,\* dismounted from their horses and alternately led the regiment. So great was the ardor of the officers and men, that notwithstanding this state of the road, they reached Fort Meigs early on the second evening of their departure from Fort Ball, a distance of nearly fifty miles.

At this period Col. Johnson arrived at the fort with being stopped, allowed time for a new disposition under cover of our cannon, and the enemy's batteries were attacked and carried without difficulty.

(A copy.)

JOHN O'FALLON,

Acting Ass. Adj. Gen.

#### OFFICIAL.

Return of the killed and wounded in the siege of Camp Meigs, and the several sorties of the 5th inst.

	<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>	<i>Aggregate.</i>
U. S. artillery,	1	0	1
U. S. infantry,	39	90	129
U. S. dragoons,	3	17	20
Kentucky militia,	30	42	72
Ohio militia,	3	8	11
12 mo. volunteers,	2	29	31
Detachment of U. S. infantry,	3	3	6
Total,	81	189	269

#### REMARKS.

Majors Stoddard and Hukill—the former died of his wounds, the latter slightly wounded.

Sixty four of the above were killed in the sorties, and 124 wounded: the balance, 81, killed and wounded within the fortified camp.

J. O'FALLON,

Acting assistant adjutant general.

NOTE.—The above return does not include those killed on the left bank, under Col. Dudley.

\* Since General.



his mounted regiment by the route of the Aux Glaize river, and was sent to the river Raisin to obtain intelligence. Three Frenchmen were taken and brought to the fort, from whom it was understood that the enemy were making preparations for some enterprize; but it was not known against what point it would be directed. The General supposed it most probable that the attack would be made upon Erie, Cleveland or Sandusky.

The 300 men of the 24th regiment were left at Fort Meigs. On the 30th of June the General set out for Cleveland attended by an escort from Johnson's regiment, and directed the remainder to follow him.

At lower Sandusky, he met with Ball's squadron, which had been ordered from the interior of Ohio upon the first information of the expected invasion. The General believed that the enemy would attack Cleveland rather than Fort Meigs, in order to destroy the boats building there, and possess themselves of a considerable magazine of flour which had been collected there by the contractor. He therefore proceeded to that point to make arrangements for its defence. Major Jessup commanded at Cleveland, with one company of artillery and two of militia. Ball's squadron and a company of 12 month's regulars, were also ordered there. A small fort was erected, and the boats sunk or moved high up the Cayahoga. Johnson's regiment of mounted volunteers were placed at Huron, nearly mid way between Sandusky and Cleveland, that they might go to the assistance of either place as circumstances should require.

While these arrangements were making upon the shores of lake Erie, Generals M'Arthur and Cass were actively employed in recruiting two regiments of 12

months volunteers in the more populous parts of the state of Ohio.

No enemy appearing at Cleveland, the head quarters of the General were transferred to Seneca town on the Sandusky.

At this place the General held a council with a number of Indian Chiefs, to whom he made three distinct propositions :

- 1, To take up arms in behalf of the United States.
- 2, To remove within our settlements and remain neutral, or
- 3, To go to the enemy and place themselves under their protection.

After a short consultation they accepted the first, and prepared to accompany our troops in the invasion of Canada. Shortly afterwards they joined the army to the number of 200. But the Indians in the British interest continued to make inroads into the settlements and committed frequent murders. A party from Malden coasted down the lake as far as cold creek, where they killed, scalped and made prisoners one man, three women and nine children.

An event took place, however, which had a salutary influence in repressing their audacity. Col. Ball with 22 of his cavalry were descending the Sandusky a few miles below Seneca town, when a band of 18 Indian warriors, who had placed themselves in ambush for the purpose of killing the mail carrier, fired upon his party. Col. Ball instantly charged upon them and drove them from a copse of hazlenut bushes. The ground was favorable for cavalry, and the Indians finding neither mercy nor the possibility of escape, gave a *whoop* and fought desperately until the whole of their party were cut to



pieces. Col. Ball was at one time opposed in personal contest to an Indian of gigantic stature ; it was a doubtful and desperate struggle ; life was at stake ; both exerted to the utmost, when a dexterous thrust of the sword terminated the contest in the death of the Indian. After this terrible example, not an Indian was seen on the east side of the Sandusky in quest of plunder and blood.

The regiment of Col. Johnson, with the exception of 100, whom Gen. Harrison dismounted, retired into the interior of Ohio, for the purpose of recruiting their horses. Col. Ball's squadron were also dismounted, to act as infantry.

On the first of August Gen. Proctor made his appearance before fort Stephenson, 18 miles above the mouth of the river Sandusky. His troops consisted of 500 regulars and about 700 Indians of the most ferocious kind. There were but 138 effective men in the garrison and the works covered one acre of ground. Major George Croghan commanded the place. The pickets were about ten feet high, surrounded by a ditch with a block house at each angle of the fort ; one of which contained a six pounder ; this was the exact state of the post, at the time the enemy appeared. The first movement made by the enemy, was to make such a disposition of his forces, as to prevent the escape of the garrison, if they should be disposed to attempt it. He then sent Col. Elliot with a flag, to demand the surrender of the fort. He was met by ensign Shipp. The British officer observed, that Gen. Proctor had a number of cannon, a large body of regular troops, and so many Indians whom it was impossible to control, and if the fort was taken, as it must be, the whole of the garri-

son would be massacred. Shipp answered, that it was the determination of Major Croghan, his officers and men, to defend the garrison or be buried in it, and that they might do their best. Col. Elliot addressed Mr. Shipp again ; “ You are a fine young man ; I pity your situation ; for God’s sake surrender, and prevent the dreadful slaughter which must follow resistance.” Shipp turned from him with indignation, and was immediately taken hold of by an Indian, who attempted to wrest his sword from him. Major Croghan observing what passed, called to Shipp to come into the fort, which was instantly obeyed and the tragedy commenced. The firing began from the gun boats in the river, and was kept up during the night. At an early hour the next morning, three sieges, which had been planted during the night within 250 yards of the pickets, began to play upon the fort, but with little effect. About 4 P. M. all the enemy’s guns were concentrated against the north western angle of the fort, for the purpose of making a breach. To counteract the effect of their fire, Col. Croghan caused that point to be strengthened by means of bags of flour, sand and other materials, in such a manner that the picketing sustained little or no injury. But the enemy supposing that their fire had sufficiently shattered the pickets, advanced to the number of 500, to storm the place, at the same time making two feints on different points. The column which advanced against the north western angle, were so completely enveloped in smoke, as not to be discovered until it had approached within 18 or 20 paces of the supposed breach, but the men being all at their posts, and ready to receive it, commenced so heavy and galling a fire as to throw the column into confusion, but being quickly



rallied, Lieut. Col. Short, the leader of the column exclaimed, "come on my brave fellows, we will give the damn'd yankee rascals no quarters," and immediately leapt into the ditch, followed by his troops : as soon as the ditch was entirely filled by the assailants, Major Croghan ordered the six pounder, which had been masked in the block house, to be fired. It had been loaded with a double charge of musket balls and slugs. This piece completely raked the ditch from end to end. The first fire levelled the one half in death ; the second and third either killed or wounded every one except eleven, who were covered by the dead bodies. At the same time, the fire of the small arms was so incessant and destructive, that it was in vain the British officers exerted themselves to lead on the balance of the column ; it retired in disorder under a shower of shot, and sought safety in an adjoining wood. The loss of the British in killed was about 150, besides a number of their *allies* were killed. The Americans had but one killed and seven slightly wounded. Early on the morning of the 3d, the enemy retreated, down the river, after having abandoned considerable baggage, and a gun boat laden with cannon ball.

The retreat of Proctor was precipitate. It is difficult to account for his leaving a gun boat in the possession of the victors, as it was not exposed to the fire of the fort.

Just as the enemy were surrounding the fort two Americans were approaching from the east, on the opposite side of the river. One of them was shot down ; the other attempted to escape, but was pursued and made prisoner. He was taken before Gen. Proctor and interrogated respecting the number of the troops in the fort. He replied, that it did not exceed 150 men. Af-

ter the defeat of the enemy, he was again remanded before the British General, who charged him with wilful deception, and declared that there was more than 2000 men in garrison at the time of the attack : whereupon the prisoner was given up to the Indians to be disposed of in their own way; and the fact, the damning fact, that this unfortunate man fell a martyr to truth and a victim to the flames, rests on the concurrent testimony of several deserters, and the circumstance that the horrible ceremonial of burning prisoners was twice celebrated shortly after the repulse of the enemy at Fort Stephenson.

The American garrison was composed of regulars, recruited in Ohio and Kentucky, or as John Randolph would say, "picked up at Gin shops." Yet a finer set of men is not to be found in the service; they are as conspicuous for humanity, as for courage. This is proved by their unceasing attention to the wounded enemy after their discomfiture. During the night they kindly received into the fort all those that were able to crawl to the fatal port hole. To those who were unable to move, they threw canteens of water and blankets. The day after the action, they even parted with a great part of their necessary clothing to alleviate the sufferings of the wounded enemy.

The only American killed in the fort was a boy 14 years of age. He raised his arm above the pickets in defiance of the enemy; a cannon ball struck it and tore it from his body, and the poor fellow survived but a few moments.

A soldier was at the same time wounded; unable to stand, he desired a Lieutenant to reach him a gun, that he might fire on the enemy.



The sick caught the spirit of their comrades, and crawled to the pickets where they loaded the supernumerary pieces for the others to fire.

There are several officers, who equally with Major Croghan deserve great credit for the part they took in the defence of the fort. When they were asked by the Major, if they were willing to defend the fort; they unanimously answered "yes, we will perish sooner than surrender." The names of the most conspicuous are Capt. J. Hunter, Lieut. Benjamin Johnson, cousin to Col. R. M. Johnson, and Ensign Shipp. The zeal and industry of these officers cannot be surpassed.

The ditch into which the enemy rushed, and which was raked by the six pounder, exhibited after the action a frightful spectacle. The blood literally stood in puddles at the bottom; in some places several inches deep.

The front side of the block house against which the British and Indians directed their principal fire, was covered with bullet holes. In the gable end alone, the writer of this volume counted upwards of 150 impressions of cannon and musket shot.

While Proctor and Dixon invested Fort Stephenson, Tecumseh with about two thousand Indian warriors approached fort Meigs. They hovered around the place for several days attempted to play off a *russe de guerre* upon the garrison. They commenced a sham fight in the woods, about half a mile from the fort, in the direction of Lower Sandusky; the fire was kept up with great vivacity for some time; at intervals one party would appear to slacken fire and retreat. This was done to induce our men to believe that a reinforcement from Sandusky was endeavoring to fight its way into the fort.

The troops in the garrison could scarcely be persuaded but that there was a real battle, and were anxious to sally out to assist their supposed friends. But Gen. Clay was not to be deceived by strategem. The Indians finding that their finesse did not succeed, raised the blockade and repaired to Malden.

When the news of the approach of Proctor to Fort Stephenson and of Tesumseh to fort Meigs, reached Gov. Meigs, he made a most spirited appeal to the patriotic people of Ohio. Such was its effect that 15,000 volunteers were immediately in motion to repel the invaders. Fortunately their services were not required.

The tide of victory began now to set with a strong current in favor of the American arms. On the 10th September, Commodore Perry captured the whole British force on Lake Erie. This victory removed the principal barrier to the conquest of Malden and the recovery of the Michigan Territory, and was the signal for active offensive operations.

Immediately all was bustle and preparation. The General began to concentrate his forces at the mouth of Portage river. Gov. Selby was on his march to join him with 4000 volunteers from Kentucky. General M'Arthur had arrived at Fort Meigs. Gen. Cass had also reached Upper Sandusky. Col. Hill with a regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers was advancing from Erie. In short about 7000 men were in motion for the long delayed invasion of Canada. The greatest activity was visible in camp. Boats were collected; beef jerked; bread baked, and the superfluous baggage secured in block houses.

On the 17th September, Gov. Selby at the head of 4000 volunteers from Kentucky arrived at the mouth of



**Portage.** This formidable corps were all mounted ; but it was deemed best for them to act as infantry. In order to secure their horses against escape, it was only necessary to build a substantial log fence from Sandusky Bay to Portage river, about two miles distant from each other ; this done, the horses were provided with a luxuriant natural pasture of nearly 100,000 acres. The number of horses left on the Peninsula, during the absence of the army in Canada, was upwards of 5000, for the most part, of the first size and condition !

On the 20th, General M'Arthur's brigade, from fort Meigs, joined the main body at Portage, after a fatiguing march of three days down the lake coast, and through a part of the immense prairie that skirts the southern shore of lake Erie from Portage river to within a few miles of Brownstown. In this toilsome march, the guides often lost the point of direction as they were struggling with the thick and lofty grass that impeded their progress. Frequently it became necessary, to hoist a soldier until his feet rested upon the shoulders of another, before he could get a view above the top of the grass to ascertain their course.

Col. Johnson's regiment remained at Fort Meigs, but had orders to approach Detroit by land.

Such of Col. Hill's Pennsylvania detached militia as chose not to cross into Canada, were ordered to guard the British prisoners, taken by Com. Perry, to Chiliothe. The different posts on the American side of the lake were left in charge of the Ohio militia. Fort Meigs was reduced in its picketing from 8 acres to 1. About 500 Kentucky volunteers remained on the Peninsula to guard the horses and stores.

Every thing being now ready, the embarkation of the troops commenced at the dawn of day, on the 21st.

For the want of a sufficient number of boats not more than one third of the army could embark at once.

There is a range of islands extending from the head of the Peninsula, to Malden. These islands render the navigation safe, and afforded the army convenient depots for baggage and stores, as well as halting places.

Put-in-bay island, sixteen miles from Portage, was selected by the general as the first point of rendezvous; the first stage in his passage across the lake. The weather was favorable. As soon as the first division of boats reached the island, men were immediately detached to take back the boats for a fresh load. Such was the eagerness of the men to accelerate the embarkation of the whole army, that they in most cases, anticipated this regulation by volunteering their services to return with the boats. Every one courted fatigue.

The fleet of commodore Perry, was busily engaged in transporting the baggage of the army. In the course of the 22d, the whole army had gained the island, and encamped on the margin of the bay, which forms nearly a semi circle.

The Lawrence and the six prize ships, captured from the enemy, were at anchor in the center of the bay, and in full view. With what delight did the troops contemplate this interesting spectacle! The curiosity of the troops was amply indulged; every one was permitted to go on board the prizes to view the effect of the battle. The men were highly pleased with this indulgence of the General and the Commodore. The scene was calculated to inflame their military ardor which was visible in every countenance.

The army was detained in Put-in-bay during the 23d and 24th by unfavorable winds. On the 24th, a soldier



of the regular forces was shot for desertion. He had deserted three times ; had been twice before condemned to suffer death, and as often pardoned ; he met his fate with stoical indifference, but it made a very sensible impression on the troops. Two platoons fired on him at the distance of five paces, and perforated his body like a sieve.\*

On the 25th the army again embarked partly in boats and partly on board the fleet, to take a nearer position to the Canadian shore. The flotilla arrived a little before sunset, at a small island called the *Eastern Sister*, 18 miles from Malden and 7 from the coast. This island does not contain more than three acres, and the men had scarcely room to sit down.

On the 26th the wind blew fresh, it became necessary to haul up the boats, to prevent their staving. The General and Commodore in the *Ariel*, made a reconnaissance of the enemy's coast and approached within a short distance of Malden. Capt. *Johnney* was dispatched to apprise Col. Johnson of our progress. Gen. Cass, Col. Ball and Capt. M'Clelland were busy in arranging and numbering the boats. At sunset the lake had risen several feet ; indeed, such was the violence of the surf that many entertained serious fears that the greater part of the island would be inundated before

\* It is worthy of remark that but *two* soldiers were shot in the north western army ; and so unfrequent was desertion, that from the time I joined it, till its departure from fort George, not a solitary instance occurred ; at least none came to my knowledge, although I made frequent enquiries as to the fact. I am not willing to attribute this fidelity to the public service, to the superior patriotism of the people of the west, or a nicer sense of the force of moral obligations. The cause is evident ; the officers are generally attentive to their men.

morning. However, the wind subsided at twelve and relieved our apprehensions.

On the 27th, at nine in the morning the army made its final embarkation. The day was fine, and a propitious breeze made our passage a pleasing pastime. It was a sublime and delightful spectacle to behold 16 ships of war and 100 boats filled with men, borne rapidly and majestically to the long sought shores of the enemy. The recollection of this day can never be effaced from my memory. There was something truly grand and animating in the looks of the men. There was an air of confidence in every countenance. The troops panted for an opportunity to rival their naval brethren in feats of courage and skill, they seemed to envy the good fortune of our brave tars. They were ignorant of the flight of the enemy, and confidently expected a fight; indeed the belief was current among the troops that the enemy were in great force; for it was believed that Dixon's Indians as well as Tecumseh's were at Malden.

We landed in perfect order of battle at 4 P. M. 3 miles below Malden. The Kentucky volunteers formed the right wing. Ball's legion and the friendly Indians the center; the regulars on the left. The troops were almost instantly in line and shortly commenced their march, *en echellons* for Malden. The troops had been drilled to marching in and out of the boats and to forming on the beach. Every man knew his place; and so well were they masters of this very necessary piece of service, that a company would march into a boat, debark and form on the beach in less than one minute, and that too without the least confusion.

As we approached Malden, instead of the red coats and war whoop of the Indians, a group of well dressed



ladies advanced to meet us, and to implore mercy and protection. They were met by Governor Shelby and Col. Ball who soon quieted their fears by assuring them that we came not to make war upon women and children but to protect them.

The army entered Malden by several parallel streets and we marched through the town to the thunder of "*Yankee Doodle*."

The ruins of the fort and the naval buildings were still smoking. All the loyal inhabitants followed the British army in its retreat. The fort is surrounded by a deep ditch and two rows of heavy pickets: What cannon and small arms they were unable to carry away were sunk in the river. The enemy in their haste had left an 18 pounder in this battery.

Three miles above the fort is an Indian village which we found deserted, and so suddenly, that many essential articles of Indian furniture, such as brass kettles, were left in the houses. Here we procured a plentiful supply of green corn, potatoes, &c. This village was not burnt.

In the evening after our arrival at Malden, Col. Ball dispatched an officer and twenty men to prevent the enemy's destroying the bridge across the Aux Connards. The enemy were found on the bridge, having just set fire to it. Our party fired on them; they dispersed and the bridge was saved.

On the 28th we passed the Aux Connards, and encamped two miles beyond the river, in a neat French settlement. A small party of British horse shewed themselves at the bridge and then scampered off.

The next day we reached Sandwich at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.\* At the same time the fleet came

\* Two miles below Sandwich, one of Governor Shelby's volunteers in the flank guard discovered an Indian

up the river to Detroit. The General made dispositions for passing the river. Governor Shelby's corps remained at Sandwich, while Ball's legion and the brigade of Gen. M'Arthur passed over to Detroit.

The Indians appeared in groupes, on the bank of the river below Detroit; a few shots from the gun boats caused them to disperse.

The Indians did not leave Detroit till the boats containing the troops were half way across the river. Just before we landed on the American side, the inhabitants hoisted the United States' flag amid the acclamations of thousands. The army were received by the inhabitants with demonstrations of unfeigned joy. They had suffered all that *civilized* and savage tyranny could inflict, save death. The Indians had lived at free quarters for several months. It was therefore natural for them to hail us as deliverers.

The enemy had set fire to the buildings within the fort, but the walls and picketing remained entire. The public store, a long brick building near the wharf was injured only in the roof, which our men soon repaired. In the course of the night there was an alarm in camp, the fires were extinguished, and the men ordered to lie on their arms.

at the distance of 200 yards, in the act of levelling his rifle at our men; he instantly left the ranks, made for the Indian and received his fire; the Indian retreated, but was closely pursued by the volunteer, who soon gained on his foe; he fired and brought him to the ground; but the Indian had previously reloaded his piece, and in his turn fired on the volunteer, who received the contents in his leg; he was at this time half a mile from his comrades; but did not retreat till he had dispatched the wounded Indian and secured his scalp, which he bore in triumph to his company.



On the 30th Col. Johnson's regiment arrived from Fort Meigs : they immediately commenced the passage of the river in boats ;\* Gen. M'Arthur with the greater part of the regular troops was charged with the defence of Detroit. It was the general opinion of the inhabitants that there were 1000 Indian warriors, under Mar-pot and Split Log, lurking in the woods between the river Rouge and Huron of Lake St. Clair. The friendly Indians took several prisoners in the immediate vicinity of Detroit, in less than two hours after we landed.

On the 2d of October every arrangement was completed for pursuing the retreating British army up the Thames. The force selected for this service, were the mounted regiment of Col. Johnson, three companies of Col. Ball's legion and the principal part of Gov. Shelby's volunteers.

From Sandwich to the Moravian towns is 84 miles. We found the roads for the most part good. The country is perfectly level. The advance of the troops was rapid ; so much so, that we reached the river Riscum, 25 miles from Sandwich, in the evening. The enemy had neglected to destroy the bridge. Early in the morn-

\* The entrance of the mounted regiment into Detroit, presented a fine military spectacle. At 2 P. M. the advance of the column began to emerge from Belle Fontaine, and were visible at the distance of 2 miles from the town. The width and shortness of the road gave the military and citizens a full view of its approach. Both sides of the street for a considerable distance, were lined with spectators. Suddenly our ears caught the thunder of 1100 horse in full motion. The whole regiment was rapidly approaching ; and in a moment, it was in the midst of us upon full speed and in admirable order.

ing of the 3d, the General proceeded with Johnson's regiment, to prevent the destruction of the bridges over the different streams that fall into Lake St. Clair and the Thames. These streams are deep and muddy and are unfordable for a considerable distance into the country. A Lieutenant of dragoons and 13 privates, who had been sent back by Gen. Proctor, to destroy the bridges, were made prisoners near the mouth of the Thames; from whom the General learnt that the enemy had no certain information of our advance.

The baggage of the army was brought from Detroit in boats, protected by a part of commodore Perry's squadron. In the evening the army arrived at Drake's farm, eight miles from the mouth of the Thames and encamped. This river is a fine deep stream, navigable for vessels of considerable burthen, after the passage of the bar at its mouth, over which there is generally seven feet water. The gun boats could ascend as far as Dalson's, below which the country is one continued prairie, and at once favorable for cavalry movements and for the co-operation of the gun boats. Above Dalson's the aspect of the country changes; the river, though still deep, is not more than 70 yards wide, and its banks high and woody.

At Chatham, 4 miles from Dalson's and 16 from lake St. Clair, is a small deep creek, where we found the bridge taken up and the enemy disposed to dispute our passage, and upon the arrival of the advanced guard, commenced a heavy fire from the opposite bank as well as a flank fire from the right bank of the river. The army halted and formed in order of battle. The bridge was repaired under the cover of a fire from two six pounders. The Indians did not relish the fire of our cannon and retired. Col. Johnson being on the right,



had seized the remains of a bridge at M'Gregor's mills, under a heavy fire from the Indians. He lost on this occasion, 2 killed and 4 wounded. The enemy set fire to a house near the bridge containing a considerable quantity of muskets; the flames were extinguished and the arms saved. At the first farm above the bridge we found one of the enemy's vessels on fire, loaded with arms and ordnance stores. Four miles higher up, the army took a position for the night; here we found two other vessels and a large distillery filled with ordnance and other stores to an immense amount, in flames. Two 24 pounders with their carriages, were taken, and a large quantity of ball and shells of various sizes.

The army was put in motion early on the morning of the 5th. The General accompanied Col. Johnson; Gov. Shelby followed with the infantry. This morning were captured 2 gun boats and several batteaux loaded with provisions and ammunition. At 9 we had reached Arnold's mills, where there is a fording place, and the only one for a considerable distance. Here the army crossed to the right bank; the mounted regiment fording, and the infantry in the captured boats. The passage though retarded for want of a sufficient number of boats, was completed by twelve.

Eight miles above the ford, we passed the ground where the British force had encamped the night before. The general directed the advance of Col. Johnson's regiment to accelerate their march, for the purpose of ascertaining the distance of the enemy. The officer commanding it, shortly after sent word back that his progress was stopped by the enemy, who were formed across his line of march. One of the enemy's waggoners was taken prisoner, from whom the General obtained much useful information.

*Battle of the Moravian Town.*

THE army was now within 3 miles of the Moravian town and within one of the enemy. The road passes through an open beach and maple forest, generally, within a few rods of the river. The enemy had made choice of a judicious position 2 miles below the Moravian village. Two narrow but deep morasses run parallel with the river for a considerable extent. The first, at the distance of 300 yards, the second, about a quarter of a mile. The British, interspersed with a few Indians, occupied the ground, in two lines, 40 paces apart, from the river to the first swamp. Six brass and two iron carriage guns were planted in different parts of this short line. The Indian line of battle commenced at the first swamp, and run to the second, extending down its margin about a quarter of a mile, forming an imperfect hollow square. The Indian force disposed in this order amounted to from 12 to 1500 warriors, under the command of Tecumseh, Walk-in-the-water and other daring chiefs. The British regulars and Indians in the first line amounted to about 700. Such was the position, the order of battle, and the numbers of the enemy. A deep river on the left, an almost impenetrable swamp on the right.

The troops at the disposal of Gen. Harrison might amount to 3000 men; yet from the natural strength of the enemy's position and the peculiar nature of the ground, not the half of this force could display to advantage. To turn the enemy in flank was impracticable. There was therefore no alternative, but to attack in



front, and that without cannon. To advance to the combat on foot in regular order, was to render a serious loss of lives certain, and success doubtful.

The decisive mind of Harrison did not permit him to hesitate. A plan of attack, at once bold and original was instantly conceived ; which was to overwhelm the enemy with consternation, and paralyze his energies, by an unexpected and irresistible shock.

For this purpose the mounted regiment, which from the active nature of the service it had previously performed, might be termed the veterans of the army, was drawn up in close column in advance, with orders to charge and break through the British line. Col. Johnson, had, however, a discretion either to attack the British with his whole force, or with one battalion, reserving the other for the attack of the Indian line.

The Kentucky volunteers, under Maj. Gen. Henry, formed close in the rear of Johnson's regiment, in three lines extending from the river to the first swamp. Gen. Desha's division covered the rear of the left battalion of Johnson's regiment. In the rear of Henry's division Col. Simral was placed with a reserve of 500 Kentucky volunteers. Gov. Shelby was at the *crotchet* formed by the intersection of Generals Henry and Desha's divisions. Gen. Cass and Com. Perry volunteered as aids to Gen. Harrison, who placed himself at the head of the front line of infantry to direct the movements of the mounted men and to give them the necessary support. Such was the general order of battle. Now for the disposition of the mounted regiment.

Col. Johnson perceiving that there was not sufficient room for his whole regiment, increased by fresh volunteers to 1100 men, to act advantageously against the

British line only, determined to make a simultaneous charge upon the red and white enemy. Accordingly, he divided the regiment equally ; gave the command of the first battalion and the honor of charging the British line to his brother, Lieut. Col. James Johnson ; leading the other battalion in person against the Indians. The advance guard of the regiment, consisting of 150 men under Major Suggett were dismounted and placed in a line parallel with the enemy, in front of the first battalion. This line had the double advantage of distracting the attention of the enemy, and of keeping up a fire and maintaining the ground if the horses should recoil at the British fire, (which was the case.) The line was weak, but was supported by four charging columns of double files with intervals of not more than 60 paces.

Col. Johnson also dismounted 120 men under Capt. Stricker and extended them from the first to the second swamp parallel with the Indian line and in front of the 2d battalion, which he formed in two charging columns, with an interval of 400 yards ; Col. Johnson led the right column in person ; Maj. Thomson the left.

The dispositions for the attack were completed. The American army had arrived within a short distance of the enemy. It was now 4 o'clock in the afternoon ; both armies were ready for the work of death. An awful silence succeeds. Soon, however, it is broken by the sound of the regimental trumpet, the signal for the commencement of the action.

In an instant 1100 horse are in motion, at full speed ; a fire of tremendous sound, at least, from the British line checked for a moment the progress of the first battalion, but its gallant leader soon gives it an increased and irresistible momentum. The last fire of the ene-



my, although delivered at pistol shot distance, had no other effect than to confirm the victory. The charging columns broke through the British ranks, wheeled and formed in their rear. Never was terror more strongly depicted on the countenances of men; with their pieces unloaded, their bayonets unfixed, broken, huddled in confusion or trampled under the horses feet, and surrounded beyond the possibility of escape, officers and men were seen throwing down their arms, and with uplifted hands, exclaiming "*quarters.*"

So unexpected was the shock, that they were totally unprepared to meet it; the whole was the work of a minute. Their artillery which from its number and position ought to have been an efficient defence, was perfectly harmless to the assailants.

There was something terrible in the sudden appearance of several hundred horsemen, clad in a motly garb, screaming like a band of furies, and approaching at full gallop through the woods! Besides an opinion prevailed among the British troops, that the Kentuckians, vindictive of the massacres of the rivers Raisin and Miami, were resolved on giving no quarters. It is therefore, not surprizing that terror and despair paralyzed their exertions. Six hundred British regulars were the fruits of this charge.

On the left between the two swamps, the contest was more serious. Col. Johnson most gallantly led the head of his column into the hottest of the enemy's fire and was personally opposed to Tecumseh. At this point a condensed mass of savages had collected. Yet regardless of danger he rushed into the midst of them; and as he broke through their line, so thick were the Indians that several might have reached him with their

rifles. He rode a white horse and was known to be an officer of distinction. A shower of balls was discharged at him; some took effect; his horse, his saddle, his clothes, his person were pierced with bullets. His men as they advanced to his support were successively killed wounded or dismounted. The combattants were now closed upon the whole line and a desperate conflict ensued. Many of the Indians disdained a shelter and fought openly; others lay concealed behind logs, trees or bushes. More prudent than their white allies, they reserved their fire until our men were within 10 or 15 yards of them. Col. Johnson, after receiving 4 wounds, perceived the daring Tecumseh commanding and attempting to rally his savage force, when he instantly put his horse towards him and was shot by Tecumseh in the hand as he approached him. Tecumseh advanced with a drawn weapon, a sword or tomahawk, at which instant the Colonel having reserved his fire, shot his ferocious antagonist dead at his feet, and that too, at the moment he was almost fainting with the loss of blood and the anguish of 5 wounds. Yet he afterwards rode his bleeding horse several rods to the rear of the line, where he was helped from his horse, which immediately died.

The death of Tecumseh, was to the Indians an irreparable loss. They immediately gave way; but continued obstinately to dispute the ground for a considerable distance. Frequently the same tree would be occupied by the parties, but on opposite sides. The battle lasted about one hour and a half, not at one point, but from its commencement, where Tecumseh fell to the extreme left, where the Indians attempted to flank Major Thomson's line, but was prevented by the timely reinforcement from the reserve under Col. Simral, whose fire soon became too warm for the enemy.



Of the mounted regiment 25 were killed or mortally wounded. About 50 were besides wounded, most of them slightly.

Of Governor Shelby's corps two were killed and six or seven wounded. About fifty horses were killed or disabled.

Having considerable personal knowledge of the officers and men composing the mounted regiment the writer cannot dismiss the subject without giving the reader some additional particulars of the character and services of this distinguished corps.

It was raised in Kentucky in the spring of 1813. It was soon filled, although the busy season of the year was unfavorable for obtaining volunteers. It entered the service about 800 strong, but was increased to 1300 from arrangements proper on such occasions. On the 5th of October, it amounted to 1000 men in round numbers; a part having been before dismounted by order of Gen. Harrison.

Its first service was an expedition to the banks of the St. Joseph of lake Michigan. This excursion covered the Ohio frontier, and prevented a large party of British Indians collected at Chicago from marching to besiege Fort Wayne. The inhabitants of the Ohio frontier felt perfectly secure when this regiment was protecting them.

The greater part of the officers and privates were pious men, and when off duty, were often heard singing religious airs, or engaged in serious and instructive discourse. Indeed it resembled in this respect a religious congregation.

Discipline and obedience was cheerfully observed. There was not an instance of desertion, and only two

died of sickness till after the battle of the Moravian town.

It is almost superfluous to speak of the courage of this corps, since it is now so well known. Yet there are some who deserve particular notice.

Let us first speak of the gallant dead. Col. William Whitley a man of 70 years of age, a soldier of the revolution, and possessing an ardent patriotism, had fought the Indians in twenty battles and skirmishes, without injury. Having a particular esteem for Col. Johnson, he volunteered as a private in Capt. Davidson's company, although in easy circumstances. His love of country was an example to all around him, and would make common individuals ashamed at not being able to feel as he felt. When speaking of the war, and his country's rights, he would say, "if I am killed the enemy will only deprive me of a few days." Col. J. had selected from 15 to 20 individuals to assist him in breaking the Indian line. The command of this forlorn hope was given to Col. Whitley. This select company were placed immediately in the rear of Col. Johnson and a few paces in advance of the charging column. A moment before the action commenced, Col. Johnson turned to Col. Whitley and observed: "Your presence animates me, it will insure victory to our brave Kentuckians." With an aspect of uncommon firmness he turned to his men and said, "Boys we have been selected to second our Colonel in the charge, act well your part; recollect the watch-word: *victory or death*." He led on his spartan band. The battle commenced; he fell without a groan the first fire, but his example was not lost.

With the solitary exception of Samuel Theobalds, who alone remained on horseback with Col. Johnson,



the whole of Col. Whitley's command were dismounted in ten minutes, by death or wounds, or horses shot under them ! Theobalds, by order of Col. J. never discharged his piece, keeping it in reserve for a case of necessity, if it should occur.

Lieut. Logan was mortally wounded. He lived in honor and died gloriously, regretting his death only because he left a wife & several children to mourn his fate.

A young printer of the name of Mansfield, was also mortally wounded. Joel Johnson and others were anxious to place him in a place of security, as the battle still raged. But he would not consent to be removed, saying "I shall die in a few minutes, return to the charge and gain the victory that I may die in peace."

The mounted regiment was greatly indebted for its extraordinary discipline to the indefatigable exertions of Lieut. Col. James Johnson, brother to the Colonel, who has always been remarkable for military discipline. He is about 38 years of age ; has been in several expeditions, even while a boy, against the indians living on the Wabash, and has served in many civil situations in Kentucky, which has given him celebrity and standing. He was first a magistrate, then sheriff of Scott county, and afterwards senator in the legislature of Kentucky. He had two promising sons in the action ; The eldest named Edward a few months above 15, and William, 14 years of age. Such was the ardor of these young spartans, that the officers had frequently to restrain their eagerness ; they were both mounted and often among the first in pursuit. The youngest is now a cadet at West Point.

Major Duval Payne, of the 1st battalion, inspired confidence wherever he appeared. He is now about 50

years of age. In 1792, he distinguished himself in a personal rencontre with an Indian in an expedition against them ; he succeeded in disarming his savage foe of his gun, tomahawk and scalping knife, after having thrown the Indian several times, who as often extricated himself by rising with his antagonist !

Major Thompson commanded the charging column on the extreme left. He dismounted his command ; faced to the left and extended his line parallel with the second swamp, in order effectually to oppose the flank line of the Indians, previously formed. His line were instantly engaged and sustained their share of the action. He is apparently between 35 and 40 years of age, Justice of the Peace, Colonel of a militia regiment and Senator in the Kentucky Legislature ; sensible and mild, but daring and undismayed in the hour of peril.

Captain Jacob Stricker, who commanded the dismounted line in front of the second battalion was not inferior to Tecumseh in his fame among the old Indian fighting men of Kentucky ; a man remarkably taciturn and reserved, except in battle, when his character instantly changes. Always in front of his men his example was surprising and his well known voice was heard in every direction. He is 50 years of age, and his attachment to Col. Johnson carried him into the field at a time when he had given up all expectation of adding to his well earned fame.

Capt. James Davidson was wounded and fell from his horse, and in attempting to give command fainted with the loss of blood ; but this did not discompose his men ; his subaltern officers knew their duty ; and while their brave captain lay bleeding upon the ground, led their company furiously to the charge.



Capt. James Coleman and men did not less distinguish themselves. After Col. Johnson was severely wounded, he ordered these companies to dismount and strengthen the line of battle, under Stricker, animated by the voice of Capt. Coleman, the most determined courage was displayed.

Major Thomson's column was composed of Captains Rice and Comb's companies. Capt. Rice was without his superior in bravery or discretion. He was not less distinguished than Stricker for his early and gallant conduct in numerous battles with the Indians.

Capt. Combs, a man of 35, had fought under General Wayne, as a private volunteer, and whose looks and remarkable large whiskers struck the spectator with strong impressions of his firmness and bravery.

Captains M'Cobe, Ellison, Matson and Hamilton of the 1st battalion deserve great praise for their intrepidity. They are all men of intelligence, and reputation. Each led a charging column through the British lines.

Capt. Ellison received several rifle balls in his clothes and saddle. In breaking through the British ranks, a soldier of the 41st attempted to fix his bayonet. At one stroke of his sabre, Capt. E. severed his head and brought him to the ground : a second made a show of resistance and shared the same fate. Shortly afterwards the captain led his company against the Indians. It was then that his temerity had nearly cost him his life ; an Indian siezed the bridle of his horse and attempted a blow with the tomahawk ; but the sabre again prevented and the Indian lost his scalp.

John Berry had his hand shot to pieces, but refused to retire ; he loaded his gun twice and fired, and the third time was prevented from the blood which filled the pan of his gun.

Major James Suggett who commanded the dismounted line in front of the 1st battalion, and at other times the advanced guard, was a baptist preacher, about 35 years old, of stentorian lungs, considerable oratory, and remarkable for his personal courage from infancy. Associated with him were Captains Church, Berry and Reding, men of distinguished valor and discretion, and whose men were equal to the most trying occasions.

The forlorn hope were truly a *Spartan band*. Samuel Theobalds and Joseph Taylor, the first a lawyer, were both young men of promise. Benjamin Chambers, a member of the Kentucky Legislature, a young man self taught and of a strong mind. . Eli Short, assistant dep. Quarter Master, Garret Wall, Forage Master, Robert Payne, William Webb, all equally determined, formed a part of this little corps, and survived the terrible ordeal.

The greater part of Governor Shelby's corps had not an opportunity of participating in the action. This circumstance was very much regretted by them. Those that met the enemy on the left flank distinguished themselves. From Sandwich to the Moravian town the greater part marched on foot and with a rapidity that was almost incredible. But their noble Governor was at their head.

The Indians fought bravely and sustained a serious loss. Sixty five warriors were left dead on the battle ground. Their total loss was 125 killed, besides wounded. Six Americans and twenty two Indians fell within twenty yards where Tecumseh was killed and the trails of blood almost covered the ground.

Among the trophies of this day were six brass field pieces, captured from the British at Bennington and Saratoga, surrendered at Detroit by Hull, and again



recovered. May cowardice never again be entrusted with their defence. About 5000 stands of arms were also taken between the mouth of the Thames and the Moravian town.

The day after the battle, a part of the army took possession of the Moravian town, which was deserted, but where was found most kinds of vegetables in abundance, which were very acceptable to men who had subsisted several days on fresh beef without bread or salt. Extensive corn fields afforded an excellent range for the horses. So panic struck were the Indian women at the advance of the troops to the town, that some of them actually threw their young children into the Thames, to prevent their being massacred by the Americans !\*

The flight of the Indians from the town was so sudden, that their kettles were yet boiling over their fires. The town was destroyed by the troops previous to their leaving it. Among the reasons assigned to justify the measure, it was alledged that these Indians had been among the foremost in massacring our men at the river Raisin, and, that the town, if it were spared, would afford a convenient shelter for the British allies during the winter, and from which they could easily pass into the Michigan territory to plunder and murder the inhabitants.

Gen. Proctor abandoned his army at the very moment Johnson's bugle sounded the charge. An escort of 40 dragoons and a few cowardly Indians accompanied him. A few of Gov. Shelby's men who had procured horses, pursued him; and at one time were within 100 yards

\* I had this fact from an American gentleman, who was at Oxford, when Proctor and the Indians passed through there on their way to Burlington heights. The squaws were then bewailing the loss of their children.

of him, but were too few in numbers to attack his guard. His flight was rapid, for in 24 hours he was more than 60 miles from the scene of danger. His carriage, wife, sword and papers fell into the hands of his pursuers. The carriage of Col. Elliot was also taken.

Three waggons loaded with specie escaped. A depot of 300 barrels of flour was at Oxford. Gen. Harrison having no orders to advance to Burlington heights by the way of Grand River, ordered the army to commence its march back to Detroit.

At the skirmish near the mouth of the Thames, an Indian squaw was mortally wounded; she was left to shift for herself: her little girl, 6 years old, remained with her. On the return of the army from the Moravian town, they were found in the woods, at the distance of half a mile from where she was wounded; to appearance she had been dead three days; the girl was still living. When our men approached the spot, she instantly raised her hands and distinctly articulated "*dont!*" She was taken to Detroit, where her fate and sprightliness excited universal interest. An officer of Governor Shelby's corps took her to Kentucky with the humane and honorable intention of adopting her in his family, and of giving her an education.

While Gen. Harrison was pursuing Proctor up the Thames, the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottowatomies, Miamies and Kikapoos, proposed to Gen. M<sup>r</sup>Arthur, a suspension of hostilities, and agreed to "take hold of the same tomahawk with the Americans and strike all who are, or may be enemies of the United States, whether British or Indians." They brought in their women and children and offered them as hostages for their good behavior.



The army returned to Detroit. Capt. Elliot, of the Niagara, volunteered his services to command a naval expedition against Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph ; but the weather proving unfavorable for a number of days, the season became too far advanced to risk the squadron on lake Huron, till spring.

Lieut. Le Breton arrived at Detroit on the 15th bearing a flag, and a letter from Gen. Proctor to Gen. Harrison. This letter requested humane treatment to the prisoners and a restoration of certain property and papers taken on the 5th. As the letter was addressed to the General, "at Moravian towns," he saw no reason for Le Breton's journey to Detroit, and ordered him to join Gen. Proctor by the way of Buffalo and Fort George.

After the return of the commander in chief to Detroit, Walk-in-the-water, who had been in the battle of the Thames, came in to implore peace. When he crossed from Sandwich, the white flag which he bore in his hand had attracted a great crowd to the wharf, all anxious to get a near view of the distinguished chief. I was struck with admiration at the firmness and apparent nonchalance with which he ascended the bank and passed through the ranks of the Kentucky volunteers, whom he had so gallantly opposed in battle but a few days before. I never saw more real dignity of carriage or a more striking firmness of countenance. Yet his situation was calculated to depress his spirits and produce humility. His town was in the power of the Americans ; the British were all taken ; the Indians had just suffered a signal defeat ; almost all the other chiefs had submitted ; he was without the means of living or resistance ; still his manner was that of a conqueror.

A few days after Proctor's defeat, the town was so full of famished savages, that the issue of rations to them did not keep pace with their hunger. I have seen the

women and children searching the ground for bones and rinds of pork, which had been thrown away by the soldiers ; meat, in a high state of putrefaction, which had been thrown into the river, was carefully picked up and devoured ; the feet, heads and entrails of the cattle slaughtered by the public butchers, were collected and sent off to the neighboring villages. I have counted twenty horses in a drove fancifully decorated with the offals of the slaughter yard.

Gov. Shelby's corps and the twelve month's volunteers, were all honorably discharged. Travelling became safe, and business at Detroit began to resume its wonted course, but the *price current* of the territory was exorbitant for every thing to eat, drink or wear. Whisky sold at 4 dolls. a gallon ; beef at 24 cents a pound ; cheese 60 do ; butter 75 ; potatoes 2 dolls. a bushel. The army was well supplied with rations, as were also about 300 of the inhabitants of Michigan, and about 2000 Indians, men, women and children who had no other means of subsistence. Adventurers soon came on with a sufficient supply of dry goods.

On the 23d of October, Gen. Harrison with all his disposable regular troops, embarked on board the fleet and sailed for Buffalo, in obedience to the orders from the secretary of war. Previous to his departure, he appointed Gen. Cass provisional Governor of the Michigan territory ; the civil ordinances, as they stood at Hull's surrender, were proclaimed in force. Gen. Cass was left with about one thousand men, not more than seven hundred of whom were effective. The men were industriously employed in preparing winter quarters at the fort. The Scorpion and Ohio schooners were engaged in transporting supplies from Erie and Cleveland, for the troops during winter. Troops were stationed at Malden and Sandwich. The campaign closed.



*Naval Battle on Lake Erie.*

**I**N the spring of 1813, the Caledonia brig and four small schooners were repaired at the navy yard, half a mile below Black Rock. At the same time four gunboats and two 20 gun brigs were building at Erie.

The command of these little squadrons was given by Commodore Chauncey to Commodore Perry. But to meet the enemy, whose force was superior, with any prospect of success, it was necessary that a junction of the two divisions should be formed. To prevent this, the Queen Charlotte and Lady Prevost were cruising between Erie and Buffalo. Fortunately, however, he eluded their vigilance and passed them with light vessels in the night, unperceived.

Arrived at Erie, Lieut. Perry used every exertion to expedite the building, equipment and sailing of the brigs; and early in August the whole squadron was ready to sail.

But it was necessary to pass the bar at the entrance of the harbor of Erie, over which there was but six feet water and the two brigs Lawrence and Niagara drew nine! Many entertained an opinion that it would be impracticable for our squadron to get out, especially, as the British fleet appeared off the harbor, for the purpose of preventing ours from getting over the bar.

The means employed to get the heavy brigs over the bar, deserve mention. Two large scows, 50 feet long,

10 feet wide, and six feet deep, built for the occasion, were filled with water and floated along side of one of the brigs in a parallel direction ; they were then secured by means of large pieces of hewn timber placed athwart ship with both ends projecting from the port holes of the brig and reaching across both scows. The water was then bailed from the scows, which gave them an astonishing lifting power, and enabled them to float over the bar.

At the moment the brigs were ready to cross the bar, the British fleet made its appearance off the harbor, but a well directed fire from a commanding battery below the town caused the enemy to keep at a more respectful distance. The auspicious opportunity was seized to pass into the open lake.

One obstacle was surmounted, but the fleet was not in a condition to seek the enemy at Malden. There were not at this time more than half sailors enough to man the fleet. However, a number of Pennsylvania militia having volunteered their services, the commodore made a short cruize off Long Point, more perhaps, for the purpose of exercising his men than seeking an enemy.

About the last of August commodore Perry left Erie, to cooperate with gen. Harrison in the reduction of Malden. He anchored off the mouth of Sandusky river, and had an interview with gen. Harrison, who furnished him with about seventy volunteers, principally Kentuckians, to serve as marines on board the fleet. Capt. Dobbin, in the Ohio, was ordered to return to Erie for provisions. The Amelia had been left there for want of men to man her. Exclusive of these he had nine sail, mounting in all fifty four guns. The British fleet



at Malden, consisted of six sail, and mounted sixty six guns.

Com. Perry appeared before Malden, offered battle, reconnoitered the enemy and retired to Put in Bay, thirty five miles distant from his antagonist. Both parties remained a few days inactive ; but their repose was that of the lion.

On the morning of the 10th of September, at sunrise, the enemy were discovered bearing down from Malden for the evident purpose of attacking our squadron, then at anchor in Put in Bay. Not a moment was to be lost. Our squadron immediately got under way and stood out to meet the British fleet, which at this time had the weather gage. At 10 A. M. the wind shifted from S. W. to S. E. which brought our squadron to windward. The wind was light, the day was beautiful—not a cloud obscured the horizon. The line was formed at 11, and com. Perry caused an elegant flag, which he had privately prepared, to be hoisted at the mast head of the Lawrence ; on this flag was painted in characters, legible to the whole fleet, the dying words of the immortal LAWRENCE :—"DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP." Its effect is not to be described—every heart was electrified. The crews cheered—the exhilarating can was passed. Both fleets appeared eager for the conflict, on the result of which so much depended. At 15 minutes before 12, the Detroit, the headmost ship of the enemy, opened upon the Lawrence, which for ten minutes was obliged to sustain a well directed and heavy fire from the enemy's two large ships, without being able to return it with caronades : at five minutes before 12, the Lawrence opened upon the enemy—the other vessels were ordered to support her, but the wind was at this time

too light to enable them to come up. Every brace and bowline of the *Lawrence* being soon shot away, she became unmanageable, and in this situation sustained the action upwards of two hours, within canister distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and but a small part of her crew left unhurt upon deck.

At half past two the wind increased and enabled the *Niagara* to come into close action—the gun boats took a nearer position. Com. Perry left the ship in command of Lieut. Yarnall, and went on board the *Niagara*. Just as he reached that vessel, the flag of the *Lawrence* came down; the crisis had arrived. Capt. Elliot at this moment anticipated the wishes of the commodore, by volunteering his services to bring the schooners into close action.

At forty five minutes past two, the signal was made for close action. The *Niagara* being very little injured, and her crew fresh, the commodore determined to pass through the enemy's line; he accordingly passed ahead of the *Detroit*, *Queen Charlotte*, and *Lady Prevost*, pouring a terrible raking fire into them from the starboard guns, and on the *Chippeway* and *Little Belt*, from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance. The small vessels at this time having got within grape and canister distance, kept up a well directed and destructive fire. The action now raged with the greatest fury—the *Queen Charlotte*, having lost her commander and several of her principal officers, in a moment of confusion got foul of the *Detroit*—in this situation the enemy in their turn had to sustain a tremendous fire without the power of returning it with much effect; the carnage was horrible—the flags of the *Detroit*, *Queen Charlotte* and *Lady Prevost* were struck in rapid suc-



cession. The brig Hunter and schooner Chippeway, were soon compelled to follow the example. The Little Belt attempted to escape to Malden, but she was pursued by two of the gun boats, and surrendered about three miles distant from the scene of action.

The writer of this account, in company with five others arrived at the head of Put in Bay island on the evening of the 9th, and had a view of the action at the distance of only ten miles. The spectacle was truly grand and awful. The firing was incessant for the space of three hours, and continued at short intervals for forty minutes longer. In less than an hour after the battle began, most of the vessels of both fleets were enveloped in a cloud of smoke, which rendered the issue of the action uncertain, till the next morning, when we visited the fleet in the harbor on the opposite side of the island. The reader will easily judge of our solicitude to learn the result. There is no sentiment more painful than suspense, when it is excited by the uncertain issue of an event which so deeply affects the national interest.

If the wind had continued at S. W. it was the intention of Admiral Barclay to have boarded our squadron; for this purpose he had taken on board his fleet about 200 of the famous 41st regiment; they acted as marines and fought bravely, but nearly two thirds of them were either killed or wounded.

The carnage on board the prizes was prodigious—they must have lost 200 in killed, besides wounded. The sides of the Detroit and Queen Charlotte were shattered from bow to stern; there was scarcely room to place one's hand on their larboard sides without touching the impression of a shot—a great many balls,

cannon and grape, were found lodged in their bulwarks, which were too thick to be penetrated by our carronades, unless within pistol shot distance. Their masts were so much shattered that they fell overboard soon after they got into the bay.

The loss of the Americans was severe, particularly on board the *Lawrence*. When her flag was struck she had but nine men fit for duty remaining on deck.\* Her

\* It was Perry's lot repeatedly to see men swept away from his side; some even while conversing with him. One of these incidents displays the coolness and presence of mind that prevailed among the officers, and indeed throughout the ship enabling them to jest with present dangers. The second Lieutenant of the *Lawrence*, while standing beside Commodore Perry, was struck in the breast by a chain shot. The shot having passed through the bulwark, had no other effect than to knock him down, and lodged in the bosom of his waistcoat. He fell with an exclamation, and remained for a moment stunned by the violence of the blow. Perry raised him up, and seeing no marks of a wound, gave him some cheering words, and told him he could not be hurt. The lieutenant coming to himself, put his hand into his bosom, pulled out the chain shot, and exclaiming "no sir, but this is my shot," thrust it with great *sang froid* into his pocket.

In the course of the action Perry noticed a prime and favorite sailor, who was captain of one of the guns, very much embarrassed with his piece, which, in consequence of the forelock being broken, was rather unmanageable and rebounded. Perry approached him, and in his usual encouraging manner, asked him what was the matter? The honest tar, who had been showing signs of infinite vexation, turned round, and, as if speaking of a mistress, exclaimed reproachfully, "sir, my gun behaves shamefully—shamefully!" He then levelled it, and having taken aim, raised up and squared himself in a fine martial style, when suddenly a can-



sides were completely riddled by the shot from the long guns of the British ships. Her deck, the morning after the conflict, when I first went on board, exhib-

non ball struck him in the breast, passed through him, and he fell dead without a groan!

Lieut. Yarnall, of the *Lawrence*, behaved throughout with great bravery and coolness. He was dressed as a common seaman, a red bandana handkerchief was tied round his neck, and another round his head, to stanch two wounds which he had received. From these the blood trickled down his face, and a splinter having passed through his nose, it had swelled to a hedious magnitude. In this frightful plight, looking like the very genius of carnage and ill luck, he came up to Perry in the hottest and bloodiest of the fight, and announced to him that all the officers of his division were killed. Perry ordered others in their place. Shortly after, Yarnall returned with a repetition of the dismal tidings, that all the officers were shot down; "then, sir," said Perry, "you must endeavor to make out by yourself, I have no more to furnish you!"

One circumstance which Perry relates deserves particular mention. It has in it something of sentiment that is above common life, and absolutely belongs to poetry. When, in the sweeping havoc that was sometimes made, a number of men were shot away from around a gun, the survivors *looked silently around to Perry*—and then stepped silently into their places. Whenever he looked at the poor fellows that lay wounded and weltering on the deck, he always found *their faces turned towards him, and their eyes fixed on his countenance*. It is impossible for words to heighten the simple and affecting eloquence of this anecdote. It speaks volumes in praise of the heroism of the commander, and the loyal affection of his followers.

When Perry went off from the *Lawrence* to shift his flag to the *Niagara*, he stood up in the boat gallantly waving his sword, and was heard cheeringly to exclaim, "Pull away my brave boys!" so earnest was he that,

ited a scene that defies description—for it was literally covered with blood, which was still adhering to the plank in clots—brains, hair and fragments of bones,

though the balls whistled round him, he could scarcely be made to take a seat, and an old sailor, who had been in both battles of the *Constitution*, absolutely held him down.

Just after he had got on board the *Niagara*, and was on the quarter deck, a sailor who commanded one of the guns, seeing all his men shot down, turned with eagerness to Perry; and, laying both hands upon his shoulders, exclaimed, “For God’s sake, sir, give me some more men!” Such was the vivid animation that prevailed among all ranks, they had lost all sense of personal danger, and thought of nothing but victory.

When the *Niagara* dashed through the enemy’s line, as she passed the *Lady Prevost*, Lieut. Buchan, the commander of that vessel, was shot through the face by a musket ball. The vessels were then within half pistol shot, so that every thing could be distinctly seen from one to the other. The crew of the *Lady Prevost* unable in their crippled state to stand the fire of the *Niagara* ran below; but their unfortunate commander remained on deck, and Perry saw him leaning on the companion way, with his face on his hand, looking with fixed stare at his enemies. Perry immediately silenced the marines on the quarter deck, and running forward ordered the men to cease firing. He afterwards learnt that the strange conduct of Lieut. Buchan was owing to sudden derangement caused by his wound. He was a brave officer, and had distinguished himself in the battle of the Nile.

While Perry was engaged at close quarters in the *Niagara*, Lieut. Turner, a fine bold young sailor, who commanded the brig *Caledonia*, of three guns, spreading every sail, endeavored to get into action. His foresail interfered between him and the enemy, but, rather than take in an inch of canvass, he ordered his men to fire through it. Seeing the Commodore engaged in the



were still sticking to the rigging and sides. The surgeons were still busy with the wounded—enough! horror appalled my senses.

thickest of the fight, he proposed to the commander of another small vessel, to board the *Detroit*; the other, however prudently declined the rash but gallant proposal.

The boatswain of the *Ariel* was among the killed; no sooner had he fallen upon deck, than a Spaniard who had often received the rope's end from his hands, knelt down by the side of his dead body and began to drink his blood, to satiate his vengeance, articulating "*beunos!*" "*good!*" This monster did not long survive his repast of human blood.

The only time that the coolness and self command of Perry experienced any thing like a shock, was on seeing his young brother, a midshipman, knocked down by a hammock, which had been driven in by a ball. In the momentary agony of his mind he gave him up as slain, but had the delight to see him rise up perfectly unhurt.

Perry speaks highly of the bravery and good conduct of the negroes, who formed a considerable part of his crew. They seemed to be absolutely insensible to danger. When Captain Barclay came on board the *Niagara* and beheld the sickly and parti-colored beings around him, an expression of chagrin escaped him, at having been conquered by such men. The fresh water service had very much impaired the health of the sailors, and crowded the sick list with patients.

We shall close these few particulars of this gallant and romantic affair, with the affecting fate of Lieut. Brookes of the marines. It presents an awful picture of the scenes which the warrior witnesses in battle; his favorite companions suddenly cut down before his eyes; those dreadful transitions from the flush of health and the vivacity of youth, to the ghastliness of agonized death; from the cheering and the smile, to the shriek and the convulsion.

Brookes was a gay, animated young officer, remarkable for his beauty. In the midst of the engagement he

Among the wounded were several brave fellows each of whom had lost a leg or an arm—they appeared cheerful and expressed a hope that they had done their duty.

accosted Perry in a spirited tone, with a smile on his countenance, and was making some observations about the enemy, when a cannon ball struck him in the thigh, and dashed him to the opposite side of the deck. The blow shattered him dreadfully, and the sudden anguish forced from him the most thrilling exclamations. He implored Perry to shoot him and put an end to his torture; the latter directed some of the marines to carry him below and consign him to the surgeon. The scene was rendered more affecting by the conduct of a mulatto boy of twelve years of age, a favorite of Brooke's. He was carrying cartridges to one of the guns, but on seeing his master fall, he threw himself on the deck with the most frantic gesticulations and piercing cries, exclaiming that his master was killed; nor could he be appeased until orders were given to take him below; when he immediately returned to carrying cartridges.

Mr. Hamilton, the purser who had worked at a gun like a common sailor, being wounded, was carried below and laid on the same mattress with Brookes. The wound of the latter was stanch'd, and he lay composed, calmly awaiting his approaching death. Hamilton observes that he never looked so beautiful as at this moment, when the anguish of his wound had imparted a feverish flush and lustre to his usually blooming countenance. He asked with great solicitude after Perry, and how the battle went. He gave a few directions about his own affairs, and, while his voice was growing weaker and weaker, recommended his little mulatto to kindness and protection, directing into whose hands he should be placed. While he was yet talking, Hamilton's attention was suddenly attracted by some circumstance which occasioned him to look another way for a moment; the voice of his companion died away upon his ear, and when he turned his face again poor Brookes had expired!

(*Analectic Magazine.*)



Rome and Sparta would have been proud of these heroes.

It would be invidious to particularize instances of individual merit, where every one so nobly performed his part. Of the nine seamen remaining unhurt at the time the *Lawrence* struck her flag, five were immediately promoted for their unshaken firmness in such a trying situation. The most of these had been in the actions with the *Guerriere* and *Java*.

The undaunted bravery of admiral Barclay entitled him to a better fate; to the loss of the day was super-added grievous and dangerous wounds: he had before lost an arm; it was now his hard fortune to lose the use of the other by a shot which carried away the blade of his shoulder; a canister shot made a violent contusion in his hip: his wounds were for some days considered mortal. Every possible attention was paid to his situation. When Com. Perry sailed for Buffalo, he was so far recovered that he took passage on board our fleet which touched at Erie. The citizens saw the affecting spectacle of Harrison and Perry supporting the wounded British hero, still unable to walk without help, from the beach to their lodgings.

On board of the *Detroit*, twenty four hours after her surrender, were found snugly stowed away in the hold, two Indian Chiefs who had the courage to go on board at Malden, for the purpose of acting as sharp shooters to kill our officers. One had the courage to ascend into the round top and discharged his piece, but the whizzing of shot, splinters, and bits of rigging, soon made the place too warm for him; he descended faster than he went up; at the moment he reached the deck, the fragments of a seaman's head struck his comrade's face,

and covered it with blood and brains. He vociferated the savage interjection "*quoh!*" and both sought safety below.\*

The killed of both fleets were thrown overboard as fast as they fell. Several were washing ashore upon the island and the main during the gales that succeeded the action.

Com. Perry treated the prisoners with humanity and indulgence; several Canadians having wives at Malden, were permitted to visit their families on parole.

The British were superior in the *length* and number of their guns, as well as in the number of men. The American fleet was manned with a motly set of beings, Europeans, Africans, Americans from every part of the United States. Nearly one fourth were *blacks*. I saw a *Russian*, who could not speak a word of English. They were brave; and who could be otherwise under the command of Perry!

\* When the ship was taken, they anticipated cruel treatment, if their nation was discovered, and borrowed sailors' clothes that they might pass for Englishmen. Thus disguised, they lay in close concealment for two days, when word was brought to Perry, that two Indians were concealed below who had not tasted food for eight and forty hours.

He had them brought upon deck, where they made a most uncouth and ludicrous appearance, with their borrowed garments bagging about them. They expected nothing less than to be butchered and scalped; but, notwithstanding, preserved the most taciturn inflexibility of muscle. Perry, however, after putting a few good humored questions to them, ordered them to be taken away and fed; a degree of lenity which seemed to strike them with more surprise than their stoic natures are apt to evince.



The day after the battle, the funeral obsequies of the American and British officers, who had fallen in the action were performed, in an appropriate and affecting manner. An opening on the margin of the bay was selected for the interment of the bodies. The crews of both fleets attended. The weather was fine ; the elements seemed to participate in the solemnities of the day, for every breeze was hushed, and not a wave ruffled the surface of the water. The procession of boats ; the neat appearance of the officers and men ; the music ; the slow and regular motion of the oars, striking in exact time with the notes of the solemn dirge ; the mournful waving of the flags ; the sound of the minute guns from the different ships in the harbor ; the wild and solitary aspect of the place ; the stillness of nature, gave to the scene an air of melancholly grandeur, better felt than described ; all acknowledged its influence ; all were sensibly affected. What a contrast did it exhibit to the terrible conflict of the preceding day ! Then the people of the two squadrons were engaged in the deadly strife of arms. Now they associated like brothers, to pay the last tribute of respect to the dead of both nations.

Five officers were interred, two American and three British. Lieut. Brooks and midshipman Laub of the *Lawrence* ; Capt. Finnis and Lt. Stokoe of the *Queen Charlotte*, and Lieut. Garland of the *Detroit*. The graves are but a few paces from the beach, and the future traveller of either nation, it is feared, will find no memento whereby he may distinguish the American from the British hero.

The *marines* of our fleet were highly complimented by the commodore for their good conduct ; although it

was the first time the most of them had seen a square rigged vessel, being fresh from Harrison's army.

The British officer domesticated a bear at Malden. *Bruin* accompanied his comrades to battle; was on the deck of the *Detroit* during the engagement, and escaped unhurt.

A dog which was on board the *Lawrence*, had retired to the cockpit, where the wounded were rapidly accumulating, the tremendous roar of the cannon; the shrieks of the dying and mutilated seamen; the shocking spectacle of the floor of the cockpit inundated with blood, operated so powerfully upon the nerves of poor tray, that he expressed his feelings by various gesticulations of terror. At length a 32 pound shot perforated the side of the ship and poured in the light of heaven upon his 'drear abode,' when he suddenly thrust his head through the aperture and commenced a most pitious howling. This singular conduct of the affrighted animal excited the risible muscles even of the dying and mortally wounded.

The fate of James Bird deserves to be recorded. He was from Luzerne county (Penn.) and volunteered aboard of the *Lawrence*. "He performed his duty like a hero. Towards the close of the engagement, a canister shot struck him on the shoulder as he was stooping to his gun. He was instantly covered with blood, and his officer ordered him below. He ventured to disobey, preferring to do duty while he had strength, to abandoning his post; but the blood flowed so fast that another order was issued to go below. He ran down—got a hasty bandage on the wound, came again on deck, and although his left arm was useless, yet he handed cartridges, and performed the utmost service in his power



with his right, until the stars and stripes waved victorious over the foe."

Nevertheless, he afterwards *deserted*—was taken, condemned by a court martial and executed on board the Niagara in November 1814.

I have my fears that the blood of the brave but unfortunate *Bird*, rests upon the head of a tyrant officer. It must have been an *energetic* cause indeed, that would have induced a man of such undaunted courage, bearing a lasting testimonial of his valor and of his services, and entitled to a valuable share of prize money, I repeat, it must have been no ordinary grievance that could have induced a brave man thus situated, to desert the flag he had once so gloriously defended.

*Biographical Notice of General Harrison.\**

GEN. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON is descended from one of the most ancient and respectable families of Virginia. His father, grand father, and great grand father all attained to civil distinctions. His father represented that state in the continental congress from 1774 to 1776; in 1777, declining a reelection, was chosen speaker of the lower branch of the Legislature, in which office he continued to act till the year 1782, when he was appointed Governor of Virginia. The journals of the revolutionary congress bear ample testimony of his zeal and usefulness, and the estimation in which he was held. He was one of the three members deputed to Washington's camp in the year 1775, in order to persuade the army to extend their term of service; again one of the committee to determine whether New York should be burned or defended; after that chairman of the "board of war," and lastly chairman of the memorable assembly which declared the new world independent and free.

The hero of Tippecanoe, of Meigs, and Thames, was born at the family seat, situated on the bank of James river, twenty five miles below Richmond. He received a medical education, but preferring the profession of arms, applied for an ensigncy, which was readily obtain-

\* For most of the facts contained in this notice, we are indebted to the *Port Folio*; many of the paragraphs are copied *verbatim*.



ed, as president Washington, Gen. Henry Lee, attorney general Randolph and Robert Morris, were all his friends and patrons.

His first appearance in the military costume, was at Philadelphia, in the character of a recruiting officer in the first regiment of U. S. infantry. From thence he proceeded to join his regiment at fort Washington, in the north western territory, a few days after St. Clair's defeat.

“ His arrival is yet remembered by several persons at Cincinnati, who, when he became a man of consequence and popularity in that country, took pleasure in describing his person. The ensign might have been forgotten, but the governor and the major general buoyed up all the minute circumstances which would have sunk with the poor subaltern officer to the bottom of oblivion. Accordingly, we are told that ensign Harrison, when he joined his corps was a stripling of nineteen years of age : tall, thin, puerile in his person, and to all appearance but wretchedly qualified for the hardships to which a soldier is liable in the wilderness. Yet with such a frame, softened by all the comfort and delicacy in which the wealthy families of the southern states rear their children, was our military novice at once exposed to the most trying circumstances.

“ The broken remains of general St. Clair's army were every day arriving at the fort, naked, broken down and dispirited. The period of service of the militia had expired : the detachment of the second regiment of regulars that was in the action under St. Clair, was entirely cut up, and thus the task of maintaining the line of posts that had been erected, of establishing new ones, and of affording convoys for provisions, devolved upon

an inconsiderable body composed of between three and four hundred of the first regiment, and the miserable fragments of general St. Clair's shattered army. The situation of our young soldier was now such as might well have discouraged the stoutest heart, and disposed him to listen to the admonition of his friends in Philadelphia\*--nay, so formidable was the prospect before him that a friend whom he met by accident at the fort, after giving him a lively picture of the excessive hardship to which he must necessarily be exposed, with a frame and constitution so wholly unequal to it, exhorted him to resign his commission and return home again, assuring him that even though he should be able to sustain those hardships, it was scarcely possible he should resist the seductive habits of intemperance which at that time prevailed in the army. All these remonstrances were unavailing. Taking counsel partly from his own private inclinations, and partly from a nice sensibility to shame, which suggested, in exaggerated colors, the impropriety of retreating from his purpose at such a crisis, and perhaps too from the apprehension of being ridiculed by his comrades, he determined to persevere and was soon after appointed to the command of a detachment of 20 men ordered to escort a company of pack horses, to fort Hamilton; a duty which was attended with singular difficulties, distresses, and privations."

He performed this service to the entire satisfaction of his superior by whom he was publicly thanked for his good conduct.

\* The first physicians of that city remonstrated against his abandoning the study of medicine.



General St. Clair set out for Philadelphia, and left the army under the command of Gen. Wilkinson. Of this event General Harrison speaks with pleasure, as making a very interesting period in his life. To the goodness of Gen. Wilkinson, he never omits a fair opportunity of bearing testimony, or of declaring that, besides a multitude of acts of kindness, he owes the preservation of his temperate habits to the indefatigable tenderness and friendly admonition of the General, who not only gave him the best advice, but upon one occasion, prevented him from being sent to a distant post in conformity to his regular tour of duty, lest he should acquire from the example of commanding officers of that post, a habit of dissipation. The habit of temperance which he thus earliiy acquired under the paternal guidance of General Wilkinson, has never been departed from.

In June 1793, he was appointed second aid-de-camp to Gen. Wayne ; having been previously raised to a lieutenancy.

“ In September, it being understood that the negotiations with the Indians had failed of effect and were broken off; the army consisting of four thousand five hundred effective regulars, including some troops of dragoons, and of an auxiliary force of two thousand mounted militia under the command of Gen. Scott, marched to Grenville; but an early setting in of the frost rendering it advisable to put the troops into winter quarters, huts were built, and a system of discipline, calculated for the kind of warfare in which they were to be employed, was diligently put in practice. Here young Harrison devoted himself to the study and practice of his profession with such success, that he obtain-

ed the confidence of his commander and the attachment of his associates.

“ It was not, however, till the latter end of June, 1794, that Gen. Wayne was enabled to march from Grenville, the enemy retreating before him as he advanced. He took and destroyed the town of the Indians, and advanced upon the British fort at the foot of the rapids of the Miami river. The Indians had collected in that neighborhood, and on the 20th of August opposed the march of the American army, who soon routed them, and driving them to within a short distance of the British fort, encamped in full view of it. In this battle Harrison’s conduct received the warmest applause from Gen. Wayne. He had been appointed by the General to assist in forming the left wing of the regular troops ; a task of extreme difficulty, owing to the thickness of the woods in which they were posted, and he accomplished it with great skill and effect.

“ Thus completely vanquished and humiliated, the Indians sued for peace ; in the winter an armistice was granted to them, and in the August following a treaty terminated all their differences, and with those, the war.

“ In the autumn of 1795, Mr. Harrison, now a captain, was married to the youngest daughter of John Cheeves Symmes, Esq. one of the judges of the north western territory ; and on the departure of Gen. Wayne for the Atlantic states, was continued by him in his post of aid-de-camp, and left in the command of Fort Washington. In the former of these offices, he remained till the death of General Wayne, which happened in the course of the following year.

“ In 1797, Capt. Harrison finding the country reposed in peace, left the army, and was in a few weeks after-



wards appointed secretary of the north western territory in the room of W. Sarjeant Esq. who was raised to the office of governor of the Mississippi territory. In the year 1799, he was sent as a delegate to congress from the north western territory, and had an active share in bringing through congress the law for changing the defective system that had been in use for the sale of public lands, and in introducing the plan now in operation. He was in fact the person who originated that measure, the happy effects of which upon the treasury of the United States are now acknowledged by every one : for it has been ascertained, that the immense growth of population which enabled that territory in a short time after to become one of the states and at this time not one of the smallest, arose altogether from that plan.

“ When the Indiana territory was formed out of a part of the north western, Mr. Harrison was appointed by Mr. Adams, the first Governor of it ; and in the year 1801 removed to the capital of it (Vincennes) with his family. At the expiration of the three years for which he had been appointed, he was again nominated to that office by Mr. Jefferson, and continued to retain it under Mr. Madison till he was called to the command of the north western army after the fall of Detroit.

“ During his administration he directed his attention to the disciplining of the militia, and exerted himself in endeavoring to civilize and better the condition of the Indian tribes that fell under his superintendence. In his letters to Gov. Scott of Kentucky, which have been published, and in his speeches to the Indiana Legislature, he strenuously recommended the system of the old republics, under which military instruction was commenced at school. In consequence of that recommen-

dation the United States gave a section of each township of Indiana for the use of schools, and an entire township near Vincennes towards the establishment of a college, for the express purpose of military institutions.

Of this anxiety to secure the Indians from inquietude and the aggressions of the whites, to promote their civilization, and to induce them to raise domestic animals as a substitute for the wild game which was rapidly decreasing, his speeches and messages to the legislature of Indiana bear abundant testimony ; while the many advantageous treaties he made with them prove his popularity with that singular race of beings. But a still stronger proof is this : A few of the party attached to the prophet gave out that the tribes who signed the treaty at fort Wayne in 1809, were overawed by a large force into that measure, contrary to their inclinations. This was a foul aspersion : for the truth has been established beyond controversy, that at the time of negotiating there were no more than thirty soldiers along with Gov. Harrison, while the Indians amounted to more than eighteen hundred ; and he was entirely in their power, having slept at a house half a mile from the fort surrounded by multitudes of Indians.

“ The civil administration of Gen. Harrison, as governor of the territory, though not attended with such splendid circumstances as his military achievements, do him no less credit. His management of the territory obtained the universal applause of the people, and the unqualified approbation of the general Government. One event of it, however, merits particular description, as well on account of its important effects upon the public concerns, as of its serving to illustrate the character of Gen. Harrison ; we mean the expedition on



the Wabash, in the autumn of 1811, which ended in the victory of Tippecanoe.

A confederation of Indians, under the command of a Shawanese impostor of considerable talents and great ambition, who passed for a prophet, and by that means acquired vast influence and a powerful ascendancy over the savages, had for some time excited the vigilance of the Indian government, and at length proceeded to such an alarming extent as to render it necessary either to bring them to terms of definite accommodation by amicable treaty, or to reduce them by force of arms. Accordingly, Gov. Harrison collected an army to go against them; and in order to avoid if possible having recourse to the sword, and to take advantage of the alternative of negociation, if the prophet and his people should feel disposed to an amicable adjustment, he headed the army himself. As he approached the prophet's town, he found it necessary to proceed with the utmost caution, not only to avoid an ambuscade which the treachery of the enemy would have provided for his reception, but to procure an interview with them in order to learn their object, and open a negociation with their chiefs. The conduct of the Indians, as he advanced, not only justified but increased his suspicions, and suggested to him the expediency of keeping his men drawn up in constant order of battle, and even of making them sleep ready dressed and accoutred, to prevent their being taken by surprise. During the whole of his last day's march, parties of the savages were seen continually in his way and hovering about the thickets on either side; but every effort to speak with them was found ineffectual. When our army came near the prophet's town, an American Captain, with a flag and an interpre-

ter, was dispatched to request a conference but the Indians appearing on both his flanks, striving to cut him off, the captain was recalled, and the Governor, finding every attempt to bring the savages to a parley answered with contempt and insolence, resolved to encamp for the night, and in the morning to take some effectual means of opening a conference. At length a person who was said to be of high estimation with the prophet came forward, expressed surprise at our troops having advanced so rapidly, and added that his chief was given to understand, by the persons who had been sent to him a few days before, that the Governor would not advance to the prophet's town until he had received an answer to his demands; that his answer had been dispatched by a chief who accompanied back the Governor's messenger, but who had unfortunately missed the army by taking the road on the other side of the river. The governor answered, that he had no intention of attacking them until he should discover their intentions; that he would encamp on the Wabash that night, and on the next morning would have an interview with the prophet. In the meantime he assured the man that no hostility should be committed on the part of the army. The chief seemed much pleased, and promised that the conditions should be faithfully reciprocated.

“ That night the Governor encamped his army in line of battle, and ordered the troops, even when it was their time to lie down to sleep, to keep their accoutrements on, so that they might on the slightest alarm, be ready for action without a moment's delay. They were regularly called up an hour before day, and kept under arms until it was quite light. In the morning the governor arose himself at a little after four o'clock, and



the signal for calling out the men would have been given in two minutes, when an attack was commenced by the savages upon the left flank of his camp. Only one gun (says the governor in his letter to the secretary at war) was fired by the centinels, or the guard in that direction who made no resistance, but abandoned their officer, and fled into the camps; so that the first notice which the troops had of their danger was from the yells of the savages within a short distance of the line, but even under those circumstances the men were not wanting to themselves or to the occasion. Such of them as were awake or easily awakened, seized their arms and took their stations—others who were more tardy had to contend with the enemy in the doors of their tents.

Under all those disadvantages the men all took their stations, and governor Harrison mounting his horse rode to the place where the attack was commenced, and made such a disposition of his forces as soon compelled the savages to repent of their treachery: they were driven before our infantry, at the point of the bayonet, and the dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh where they could not be followed. In fine, they were routed in all quarters, and completely dispersed by the valor and discipline of our citizens, and the very able dispositions of his forces made by the governor.

The conduct of governor Harrison had before this event rendered him extremely popular in all the country that lies upon the banks of the western waters.—And his prompt and decisive measures against the Indians, which, by breaking up what was supposed to be a formidable conspiracy against the peace and security of the inhabitants of the Indiana Territory, endeared him

still more to their hearts. The breaking out of the war with Great Britain, soon after enabled him to reap fresh laurels, and not only to raise himself still higher in their estimation, but to extend his popularity to all other parts of the union.

The surrender of Detroit opened a wide field for the display of Gen. Harrison's military talents. This volume contains a faithful and authentic record of his services.

For temperance and application to military duty he has few equals. His courage is unquestionable. He possesses a singular volubility of speech with a persuasive but nervous eloquence. No officer ever had a finer voice for command. To his dependants he is humane and benevolent.

We will conclude this sketch with an extract taken by permission from a letter of an officer of high rank, who served with Gen. Harrison, and was his associate in many a hair's breadth 'scape.

It was Gen. Harrison's constant practice to address his troops, personally, believing it to be more effectual than the common mode of general orders. He never omitted an opportunity of setting his troops the example of cheerfully submitting to those numerous and severe privations incident to the carrying on of military operations, in an almost tractless desert, and in the most inclement seasons.

During the campaign on the Wabash, the troops were put upon half a pound of bread per day. This quantity only was allowed to the officers of every rank and rigidly conformed to in the General's own family. The allowance for dinner was uniformly divided between the company, and not an atom more was permitted. In the severe winter campaign of 1812-13, he



slept under a thinner tent than any other person, whether officer or soldier; and it was the general observation of the officers, that his accommodations might generally be known, by their being the worst in the army. Upon the expedition up the Thames all his baggage was contained in a valise, while his bedding consisted of a single blanket, fastened over his saddle, and even this he gave to Col. Evans, a British officer, who was wounded. His subsistence was exactly that of a common soldier.

On the night, after the action upon the Thames, thirty-five British officers supped with him upon fresh beef roasted before the fire, without either bread or salt, and without ardent spirits of any kind. Whether upon the march, or in the camp, the whole army was regularly under arms at day break. Upon no occasion did he fail to be out himself, however severe the weather, and was generally the first officer on horse-back of the whole army. Indeed, he made it a point on every occasion, to set an example of fortitude and patience to his men, and to share with them every hardship, difficulty and danger.

*Indian Attacks and Massacres, in 1812.*

## MASSACRE OF THE GARRISON OF FORT DEARBORN.

ON the 9th of August, 1812, Capt. Heald, who commanded at Fort Dearborn,\* received orders from Gen. Hull, to evacuate that fort, and to proceed to Detroit by land. On the 13th, Capt. Wells, from Fort Wayne arrived with about 30 Miamies for the purpose of escorting the garrison. The neighboring Indians being informed of the intended evacuation, came in from all quarters to receive the goods in the United States Factory store, which Capt. Heald was authorised to distribute among them ; he gave them the goods and a quantity of provisions, but destroyed the surplus arms and ammunition as well as a quantity of liquor. The collection of Indians was large, but they conducted with the strictest propriety till after the garrison left the fort.

On the 15th, at 9 in the morning, the garrison commenced its march. A part of the Miamies were detached in front ; the remainder were in the rear as guards, under Capt. Wells. The situation of the country rendered it necessary for them to take the beach, with the lake on their left, and a high sand bank on their right, at about 100 yards distance.

They had proceeded about a mile and a half, when it was discovered the Indians were prepared to attack them from behind the bank. Capt. Heald immediately marched up with the company to the top of the

\* This fort is situated on the south western shore of lake Michigan at the mouth of Chicago river. It is a place of considerable resort for the Pottewattemie, Winnebago and Ottaway Indians.



bank, when the action commenced. After firing one round, they charged and the savages gave way in front and joined those on the flanks. In 15 minutes the Indians got possession of all their horses, provisions and baggage of every description. The Miamies afforded no assistance, and many of the garrison had already fallen. Capt. Heald drew off the few men he had left, and took possession of a small elevation in the open prairie out of the reach of the Indian fire from the bank, or any other cover. The Indians did not follow but assembled in a body on the top of the bank, and, after a short consultation among themselves, made signs for Capt. Heald to approach them. He advanced towards them alone, and was met by one of the Pottewattemie chiefs called the Blackbird, with an interpreter. After shaking hands he requested Capt. H. to surrender, promising to spare the lives of the prisoners. The captain did not put entire confidence in his promises, but thought it most prudent to comply with his request. After delivering up their arms, the prisoners were taken back to the fort, and distributed among the different tribes. The next morning the Indians set fire to the fort, and left the place, taking the prisoners with them.

The number of warriors was between four and five hundred ; mostly Pottewattemies ; fifteen of the Indians were killed. The Americans, when the action commenced, consisted of 54 regulars and 12 militia ; out of which 26 regulars and all the militia were killed in the action, with two women and twelve children. Capt. Wells, Dr. Van Vorhees and Ensign Roman were among the killed. Exclusive of Capt. Heald and his wife, who were permitted to reside a few weeks at St. Joseph's, 25 noncommissioned officers and privates, and eleven women and children were retained in captivity.

*Attack of Fort Harrison.\**

ON the evening of the 3d of September, two young men who were making hay about 400 yards from the fort, were killed and scalped. Capt. Taylor was at the same time informed by some friendly Indians, that the Prophet's party would soon arrive for the purpose of commencing hostilities. Late in the evening of the 4th, between 30 and 40 Indians, mostly chiefs, arrived from Tippecannoe with a white flag ; among whom were several women. A Shawanese, that spoke good English, informed Capt. Taylor that they intended to speak to him the next morning to get something to eat !

At reveille beating, Capt. Taylor examined the men's arms, and found them all in good order, and completed their cartridges to 16 rounds per man ; but he had not been able for several days previous, to mount a guard of more than 6 privates and two non commissioned officers. Indeed he had for some considered his post untenable, if vigorously attacked. He had not fully recovered from a fever, and was not able to be up much through the night. Nevertheless his measures were circumspect. After tattoo he cautioned the guards to be vigilant, and ordered one of the noncommissioned officers, as the sentinels could not see every part of the garrison, to walk around on the inside during the whole night, in order to prevent the Indians taking any advantage, if they meditated an attack.

\* The fort stands on the Wabash about 150 miles above Vincennes, and was built in October 1811.



About 11 o'clock, the Indians commenced their attack; and fired the lower block house. The handful of men were soon at their posts; but the cry of "fire" produced considerable confusion: while a part of the garrison were returning the fire of the Indians, the others were employed in endeavoring to extinguish the flames; but before a sufficient quantity of water could be procured, the fire communicated to several barrels of whiskey, and in spite of every exertion, the whole building was enveloped in flames. This blockhouse adjoined the barracks and constituted a part of the line of defence. The darkness of the night, the raging of the fire, the enfeebled state of the garrison, not more than 15 of whom were fit for duty, the cries of the women and children, the desperate prospect of defence, and above all, the yelling and howling of several hundreds of infuriate savages, were sufficient to dismay the stoutest heart. To add to their misfortunes, two of the ablest men in the fort, and in whom the captain had full confidence, overcome by the terrors of the scene, jumped the pickets and left them. But Captain Taylor's presence of mind did not for a moment forsake him. He saw that by throwing off the roof of the barracks which adjoined the blockhouse, and keeping the side wet, the progress of the flames would be checked, and he soon convinced his men that there was still a chance to defend themselves, as they could throw up a temporary breast work across the breach caused by the burning of the block house, after the fire should cease raging. This inspired new life, and in the words of Capt. T. "never did men act with more firmness or desperation." Those that were able mounted the top of the barracks, others fired on the enemy. The contiguous roof was soon

cleared away amid a shower of bullets and falling flakes of fire. Dr. Clark was among the first upon the roof, and continued by his example to animate and encourage the men during the whole period of the attack, which lasted seven hours. Only one man was killed and two wounded on the roof. The barracks were several times in a blaze and as often extinguished, and before day they had raised a temporary breast work across the breach as high as a man's head, altho' the Indians poured in a constant fire of ball and arrows the whole time. The garrison lost but two men killed in the fort, one on the roof, as before stated, and one who got into one of the gullies of the bastions and fired over the pickets, and called out to his comrades that he had killed an Indian, but neglecting to stoop down instantly, he was shot dead.

The two men who jumped the pickets gained nothing by flight. One was caught about 130 yards from the garrison and literally hewn to pieces. The other had his arm broken in a most shocking manner, and returned to the fort a little before day.

At day light our men began to fire with more effect, which induced the Indians to withdraw beyond the reach of the fire of the fort, when they commenced shooting all the hogs, cattle and horses in the vicinity of the garrison. On the 5th they entirely withdrew.



*Attack on Fort Belle Vue.*

**F**ORT Belle Vue is situated on the Mississippi, above the mouth of the Missouri, and is a very ineligible situation for a Fort, as the parade ground can be swept by small arms, and the fort is surrounded by chasms to within ten or twelve paces of the pickets and block houses, which form complete hiding places and defences to a lurking savage foe.

On the 5th of September 1812, at half past 5 P. M. the garrison was attacked by a party of Winnebagoes, consisting as was supposed of about 200 warriors. They found but one man outside the pickets; whom they instantly tomahawked. A constant firing on both sides was kept up till dark, but with little effect. The next morning they renewed the attack, burnt several boats and began to throw *fire* on the block houses that stood near the bank of the river, but not sufficiently near to command the declivity of the bank. To counteract the effects of the fire, syringes were made of gun barrels, by which means the roofs were wet so as to prevent the fire taking. In the course of the day, the Indians killed the live stock, burnt several houses and destroyed the corn. On the 7th they continued throwing fire brands on the roofs of the block houses. The morning being calm all their ingenious attempts to fire the roofs of the houses failed. The commandant of the fort, Lieut. Thomas Hamilton, believing that the enemy was only waiting a favorable wind to set fire to the U. States Factory by which means the whole garrison must inevitably have perished in a general conflagration, sent

a soldier with fire to the factory in the evening, and in less than three hours that building was totally consumed without the least injury to the garrison. The Indians in the course of the attack, threw upwards of 500 pieces of burning timber on the roofs, besides discharging an innumerable quantity of *arrows with matches tied to them*. On the 8th, they began to retire, after having had several killed. Not a man of the garrison was hurt.



*Expeditions against the Indians of the Wabash  
and Illinois.*

EARLY in September 1812, Gen. Hopkins with about 2000 Kentucky and Indiana militia, marched from Vincennes against the Indians residing on the head waters of the Wabash.

This army, which under an able commander, might have achieved all the objects of the expedition, performed nothing more than a long and a tedious march.

Although the troops were provided with excellent rations ; although the season was fine, and the line of march crossed a country possessing great natural beauties, still the troops soon manifested a refractory spirit. Before they had reached Fort Harrison, great numbers had fallen off. At this place the discontents had increased to an alarming degree, and the men continued to *discharge themselves* without consulting their officers.

On the 15th of September Gen. Hopkins marched with his remaining troops from Fort Harrison, and continued his route in a northern direction between 80 and 90 miles, and a considerable part of the way over a prairie covered with tall dry grass. In this distance scarcely a vestige of the foot steps of a savage foe were discoverable. On the evening of the 4th day they encamped on the prairie ; the atmosphere was clear, not a cloud was visible. But suddenly there arose a gust of wind more violent than any of them had ever before witnessed. Soon however the phenomenon was explained by the rapid approach of an almost surrounding ocean of fire. Indeed, the lurking savages had put the

whole prairie in a blaze ; and the flames drove on them so furiously that in order to prevent being roasted alive, it became necessary to fire the grass immediately bordering on the encampment.

This formidable engine of Indian annoyance determined the whole corps to effect a hasty retreat, in which all discipline was either forgotten or disregarded.

Thus perished, with the combustible grass of the prairie, the laurels of the General and the hopes which followed the expedition.

While Gen. Hopkins' army was retreating before the triumphant flames, Col. Russell of the 7th U. S. Infantry, marched from Vincennes against the Peona villages on the Illinois. His force consisted of about 400 men. He advanced to within a short distance of the town unperceived, when he met an Indian who was shot dead. The town was immediately charged. Twenty five warriors were killed and several wounded Indians ; seven white scalps and sixty horses laden with Indian baggage were found in the village. The women and children had on the onset of the attack, taken refuge in a neighboring swamp, to which the men flew for shelter after their defeat. Fortunately for our troops only 150 warriors were found to oppose them ; nearly 700 had previously departed for the purpose of observing the movements of Gen. Hopkins. Col. Russell destroyed every thing in the town which he could not carry away, and left it the same evening.

On the 11th of November, Gen. Hopkins again marched from Fort Harrison. He ascended the east bank of the Wabash as far as Tippecannoe. The provisions, forage and military stores were conveyed up the river in 7 boats under the orders of Lieut. Col. Barbour.



They reached the Prophet's town on the 19th of November. The next he dispatched 300 men to destroy the Winnebago village lying on Ponce Passu creek. This party commanded by Gen. Butler, surrounded the place about break of day, but found it evacuated. The town contained about 40 houses, many of them from 30 to 50 feet long ; besides many temporary huts in the surrounding prairie. After this they destroyed the Prophet's town, which had been mostly rebuilt. Their next object was the destruction of the great Kickapoo village nearly opposite to Tippecannoe, on the west side of the Wabash. This last town contained 160 houses and cabins, and shared the fate of the other villages. Great quantities of corn were found either in the houses or buried in the earth and covered with mats. Seven miles to the east on Ponce Passu creek, a party of Indians attacked and killed a gallant soldier of the name of Dunn. This induced a detachment of 60 horsemen under Lieut. Col. Miller and Wilcox to go in pursuit of the Indians. The party fell into an ambush and lost 18 of their number in killed and missing. A fall of snow, the severity of the weather and destitute state of the troops prevented further operations. The army returned to Vincennes.

*Events on the Niagara Frontier in 1812.*

LANGOR, indecision, and a want of concert marked the progress of military movements on the Niagara frontier during the whole of 1812. The first event which drew the public attention to this quarter, was a successful enterprize executed against the brigs Adams and Caledonia, which were cut out from under the guns of fort Erie, on the evening of the 8th of October.

The letter of Lieut. Elliot to the Secretary of the Navy, will best detail the circumstances of this brilliant achievement.

*Black Rock, October 9.*

SIR—I have the honor to inform you that on the morning of the 8th inst. two British vessels, which I was informed were his Britannic Majesty's brig Detroit, late the United States' brig Adams, and the brig Hunter, mounting 14 guns, but which afterwards proved to be the brig Caledonia, both said to be well armed and manned, came down the lake and anchored under the protection of fort Erie. Having been on the lines for sometime and in a measure inactively employed, I determined to make an attack, and if possible to get possession of them. A strong inducement to this attempt arose from a conviction that with these two vessels added to those which I have purchased and am fitting out, I should be able to meet the remainder of the British force on the upper lakes and save an incalculable expense and labor to the government. On the morning of their arrival I heard that our seamen were but a short distance from this place, and immediately dispatched an express to the officers directing them to use all possible dispatch in getting their men to this place, as I had important



service to perform. On their arrival, which was about 12 o'clock, I discovered that they had only 20 pistols and neither cutlasses or battle axes. But on application to Generals Smith and Hall of the regulars and militia, I was supplied with a few arms, and Gen. Smith was so good on my request as immediately to detach fifty men from the regulars, armed with muskets.

By 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I had my men selected and stationed in two boats, which I had previously prepared for the purpose. With these boats, 50 men in each and under circumstances very disadvantageous, my men having scarcely had time to refresh themselves after a fatiguing march of 500 miles, I put off from the mouth of Buffalo creek, at 1 o'clock the following morning, and at 3, I was along side the vessels. In the space of about 10 minutes I had the prisoners all secured, the topsails sheeted home, and the vessels under way. Unfortunately the wind was not sufficiently strong to get me up against a rapid current into the lake, where I had understood another armed vessel lay at anchor, and I was obliged to run down the river by the Forts, under a heavy fire of round, grape and cannister, from a number of pieces of heavy ordnance and several pieces of flying artillery, was compelled to anchor at a distance of about 400 yards from two of their batteries. After the discharge of the first gun, which was from the flying artillery, I hailed the shore, and observed to the officer, that if another gun was fired, I would bring the prisoners on deck and expose them to the same fate we would all share; but notwithstanding they disregarded the caution and continued a constant and destructive fire. One single moment's reflection determined me not to commit an act that would subject me to the imputation of barbarity. The Caledonia had been beached, in as safe a

position as the circumstances would admit of, under one of our batteries at Black Rock. I now brought all the guns of the Detroit on one side next the enemy, stationed the men at them, and directed a fire which was continued as long as our ammunition lasted and circumstances permitted. During the contest I endeavored to get the Detroit on our side by sounding a line, there being no wind on shore, with all the line I could muster; but the current being so strong, the boat could not reach the shore. I then hailed our shore and requested that warps would be made fast on land, and sent on board; the attempt to all which again proved useless. As the fire was such as would, in all probability, sink the vessel in a short time, I determined to drift down the river out of the reach of the batteries, and make a stand against the flying artillery. I accordingly cut the cable, made sail with very light airs, and at that instant discovered that the pilot had abandoned me. I dropped astern for about 10 minutes, when I was brought up on our shore on Squaw Island; got the boarding boat ready, had the prisoners put in and sent on shore with directions for the officer to return for me and what property we could get from the brig. He did not return, owing to the difficulty in the boat's getting on shore. Discovering a skiff under the counter, I put the four remaining prisoners in the boat, and with my officers I went on shore to bring the boat off. I asked for protection to the brig of Lieut. Col. Scott who readily gave it. At this moment I discovered a boat with about 40 soldiers from the British side, making for the brig. They got on board, but were soon compelled to abandon her, with the loss of nearly all their men. During the whole of this morning both sides of the river kept up alternately a continual fire on the brig, and so much injured her that it was impossible



to have floated her. Before I left her, she had several shot of large size in her bends, her sails in ribbons, and rigging all cut to pieces.

To my officers and men I feel under great obligation. To Capt. Townson and Lieut. Roach of the 2d regiment of artillery, Ensign Prestman of the infantry, Capt. Chapin, Mr. John M'Comb, Messrs. John Town, Thomas Dain, Peter Overstocks and James Sloan, resident gentlemen of Buffalo, for their soldier and sailor like conduct. In a word, sir, every man fought as if with their hearts animated only by the interest and honor of their country.

The prisoners I have turned over to the military. The Detroit mounted 6 six pound long guns, a commanding Lieut. of marines, a boatswain and gunner, and 56 men; about 30 American prisoners on board, muskets, pistols, cutlasses, and battle axes. In boarding her I lost one man, one officer wounded, Mr. John C. Cummings, acting midshipman, a bayonet through the leg; his conduct was correct and deserves the notice of the department. The Caledonia mounted two small guns, blunderbusses, pistols, muskets, cutlasses, and boarding pikes, 12 men including officers, 10 prisoners on board. The boat boarding her commanded by sailing master George Watts, who performed his duty in a masterly style. But one man killed, and four wounded badly, I am afraid mortally. I enclose you a list of the officers and men engaged in the enterprize, and also a view of the lake and river in the different situations of attack. In a day or two I shall forward the names of the prisoners. The Caledonia belongs to the N. W. Company, loaded with furs, worth I understand \$200,000.

With sentiments of respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

JESSE D. ELLIOT.

*Battle of Queenstown.\**

THE events of the 13th October exhibit a strange assemblage of military folly, daring intrepidity, palpable blunders and unavailing courage.

The official account of Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer, as detailed in a letter to Gen. Dearborn, is as follows :

*“ Head Quarters, Lewistown, Oct. 14, 1812.*

SIR—As the movements of the army under my command, since I had last the honor to address you on the 8th inst. have been of a very important character, producing consequences serious to many individuals ; establishing facts actually connected with the interest of the service and the safety of the army : and as I stand prominently responsible for some of these consequences, I beg leave to explain to you, sir, and through you, to my country, the situation and circumstances in which I have had to act, and the reasons and motives which governed me : and if the result is not all that might have been wished, it is such that when the whole ground shall be viewed, I shall cheerfully submit myself to the judgment of my country.

\* Queenstown is a pleasant village nine miles above Fort George and seven below the Falls of Niagara. It is elevated more than 100 feet above the surface of the river, and is a place of depot for all the merchandize and public Stores destined for the Upper Lakes and the North West. The return trade also passes through this village. The Portage from this place to Chippewa, is nine miles and a half. The transportation of property, is immense. The single article of Fur, employs a great number of teams. Both banks of the Niagara, exhibit a beautiful scenery.



In my letter of the 8th inst. I apprised you that a crisis in this campaign was rapidly advancing ; and that, (to repeat the same words) “ *the blow must be soon struck, or all the toil and expence of the campaign go for nothing, for the whole will be tinged with dishonor.*”

Under such impressions, I had on the 5th instant, written to brigadier general Smyth, of the United States’ forces, requesting an interview with him, major general Hall and the commandants of the United States’ regiments, for the purpose of conferring upon the subject of future operations. I wrote major general Hall to the same purport. On the 11th, I had received no answer from general Smyth ; but in a note to me of the 10th, general Hall mentioned that general Smyth had not yet then agreed upon any day for the consultation.

In the mean time, the partial success of lieutenant Elliot, at Black Rock (of which, however, I have received no official information,) began to excite a strong disposition in the troops to act. This was expressed to me through various channels, in the shape of an *alternative* ; that they must have *orders to act*—or, at all hazards, they *would go home*. I forbear, here, commenting upon the obvious consequences, to me, personally, of longer withholding my orders under such circumstances.

I had a conference with ———, as to the possibility of getting some person to pass over to Canada, and obtain correct information. On the morning of the 4th, he wrote to me that he had procured the man, who bore his letter to go over. Instructions were given him ; he passed over—obtained such information as warranted an immediate attack. This was confidently communicated to several of my first officers, and produced great

zeal to act ; more especially as it might have a controlling effect upon the movements at Detroit, where it was supposed that general Brock had gone with all the force he dared to spare from the Niagara frontier. The best preparations in my power, were therefore, made to dislodge the enemy from the heights of Queenstown, and possess ourselves of the village, where the troops might be sheltered from the distressing inclemency of the weather.

Lieut. col. Fenwick's flying artillery, and a detachment of regular troops, under his command, were ordered to be up in season from Fort Niagara. Orders were also sent gen. Smyth, to send down from Buffalo, such detachment of his brigade as existing circumstances in that vicinity, might warrant. The attack was to have been made at 3 o'clock, on the morning of the 11th, by crossing over in boats from the Old Ferry opposite the heights. To avoid any embarrassment in crossing the river (which is here a sheet of violent eddies) experienced boatmen were procured to take the boats from the landing below to the place of embarkation. Lieut. Sim was considered the man of the greatest skill for this service—he went a head, and in the extreme darkness, passed the intended place far up the river ; and there, in a most extraordinary manner, fastened his boat to the shore, and abandoned the detachment. In *this front boat* he had carried nearly every oar, which was prepared for all the boats. In this agonizing dilemma, stood officers and men, whose ardor had not been cooled by exposure through the night to one of the most tremendous north east storms, which continued, unabated, for twenty eight hours, and deluged the whole camp. The approach of day light extinguished every



prospect of success, and the detachment returned to camp. Col. Van Rensselaer was to have commanded the detachment.

After this result, I had hoped the patience of the troops would have continued until I could submit the plan suggested in my letter of the 8th, that I might act under and in conformity to the opinion which might be then expressed. But my hope was idle: the previously excited ardor seemed to have gained new heat from the late miscarriage—the brave were mortified to stop short of their object, and the timed thought laurels half won by the attempt.

On the morning of the 12th, such was the pressure upon me from all quarters, that I became satisfied that my refusal to act might involve me in suspicion and the service in disgrace.

Viewing affairs at Buffalo as yet unsettled, I had immediately countermanded the march of general Smyth's brigade, upon the failure of the first expedition; but having now determined to attack Queenstown, I sent new orders to general Smyth to march; not with the view of his aid in the attack, for I considered the force detached sufficient, but to support the detachment should the conflict be obstinate and long continued.

Lieutenant colonel Christie, who had just arrived at the Four Mile Creek, had late in the night of the first contemplated attack, gallantly offered me his own and his men's services; but he got my permission too late. He now again came forward, had a conference with colonel Van Rensselaer, and begged that he might have the honor of a command in the expedition. The arrangement was made. Colonel Van Rensselaer was to command one column of 300 militia; and lieutenant

colonel Christie a column of the same number of regular troops.

Every precaution was now adopted as to boats, and the most confidential and experienced men to manage them. At an early hour in the night, lieutenant colonel Christie marched his detachment, by the rear road, from Niagara to camp. At 7 in the evening lieutenant colonel Stranahan's regiment moved from Niagara Falls—at 8 o'clock, Mead's—and at 9, lieutenant colonel Blan's regiment marched from the same place. All were in camp in good season. Agreeably to my orders issued upon this occasion, the two columns were to pass over together; as soon as the heights should be carried, lieutenant colonel Fenwick's flying artillery was to pass over; then major Mullany's detachment of regulars; and the other troops to follow in order.

At dawn of day the boats were in readiness, and the troops commenced embarking, under the cover of a commanding battery mounting two eighteen pounders and two sixes. The movement was soon discovered, and a brisk fire of musquetry was poured from the whole line of the Canada shore. Our battery then opened to sweep the shore; but it was, for some minutes, too dark to direct much fire with safety. A brisk cannonade was now opened upon the boats from three different batteries—our battery returned the fire, and occasionally threw grape upon the shore, and was itself served with shells from a small mortar of the enemy's. Colonel Scott, of the artillery, by hastening his march from Niagara Falls in the night, arrived in season to return the enemy's fire with 2 six pounders.

The boats were somewhat embarrassed with the eddies, as well as with a shower of shot: but colonel Van



Rensselaer, with about 100 men, soon effected his landing amidst a tremendous fire directed upon him from every point; but to the astonishment of all who witnessed the scene, this van of the column advanced slowly against the fire. It was a serious misfortune to the van and indeed to the whole expedition, that in a few minutes after landing, col. Van Rensselear received four wounds—a ball passed through his right thigh, entering just below the hip-bone—another shot passed through the same thigh, a little below—the third through the calf of his left leg—and a fourth contused his heel. This was quite a crisis in the expedition. Under so severe a fire it was difficult to form raw troops. By some mismanagement of the boatmen, lieut. col. Christie did not arrive until some time after this, and was wounded in the hand in passing the river. Col. Van Rensselear was still able to stand; and with great presence of mind ordered his officers to proceed with rapidity and storm the fort. This service was gallantly performed, and the enemy driven down the hill in every direction. Soon after this, both parties were reinforced, and the conflict was renewed in various places—many of the enemy took shelter behind a stone guard house, where a piece of ordnance was now briskly served. I ordered the fire of our battery directed upon the guard house; and it was so effectually done, that with 8 or 10 shot the fire was silenced. The enemy then retreated behind a large stone house; but in a short time the route became general, and the enemy's fire was silenced except from a one gun battery, so far down the river as to be out of the reach of our heavy ordnance and our light pieces could not silence it. A number of boats now passed over unannoyed except from the one unsilenced gun.

For some time after I had passed over, the victory appeared complete : but in the expectation of further attacks, I was taking measures for fortifying my camp immediately—the direction of this service I committed to lieut. Totten, of the engineers. But very soon the enemy were reinforced by a detachment of several hundred Indians from Chippawa—they commenced a furious attack ; but they were promptly met and routed by the rifle and bayonet. By this time, I perceived my troops were embarking very slowly, I passed immediately over to accelerate their movements ; but to my utter astonishment, I found that at the very moment when complete victory was in our hands, the ardor of the unengaged troops had entirely subsided. I rode in all directions : urged the men by every consideration to pass over—but in vain. Lieut. col. Bloom, who had been wounded in the action, returned, mounted his horse and rode through the camp ; as did also Judge Peck, who happened to be here, exhorting the companies to proceed—but all in vain.

At this time a large reinforcement from Fort George were discovered coming up the river. As the battery on the hill was considered an important check against their ascending the heights, measures were immediately taken to send them a fresh supply of ammunition, as I had learnt there were left only 20 shot for the 18 pounders. The reinforcements, however, obliqued to the right from the road and formed a junction with the Indians in the rear of the heights. Finding to my infinite mortification, that no reinforcement would pass over ; seeing that another severe conflict must soon commence ; and knowing that the brave men of the heights were quite exhausted and nearly out of ammunition, all I



could do was to send them a fresh supply of cartridges. At this critical moment I dispatched a note to gen. Wadsworth, acquainting him with our situation—leaving the course to be pursued much to his own judgment—with assurance that if he thought best to retreat, I would endeavour to send as many boats as I could command, and cover his retreat by every fire I could safely make. But the boats were dispersed—many of the boatmen had fled, panic struck—and but a few got off. But my note could but little more than have reached gen. W. about 4 o'clock, when a most severe and obstinate conflict commenced and continued about half an hour, with a tremendous fire of cannon, flying artillery and musketry. The enemy succeeded in repossessing their battery; and gaining advantage on every side, the brave men who had gained the victory, exhausted of strength and ammunition, and grieved at the unpardonable neglect of their fellow soldiers, gave up the conflict.

I can only add that the victory was really won; but lost for the want of a small reinforcement. *One third part of the idle men might have saved all.*

I have been so prest with the various duties of burying the dead, providing for the wounded, collecting the public property, negotiating an exchange of prisoners, and all the concerns consequent of such a battle, that I have not been able to forward this dispatch at as early an hour as I could have wished. I shall soon forward you another dispatch in which I shall endeavor to point out to you the conduct of some most gallant and deserving officers. But I cannot in justice close this without expressing the very great obligation I am under to brigadier general Wadsworth, colonel Van Rensselaer, col. Scott, lieutenant colonels Christie and Fenwick, and

captain Gibson. Many others have also behaved gallantly. As I have reason to believe that many of our troops fled to the woods, with the hope of crossing the river, I have not been able to learn the probable number of killed, wounded, or prisoners. The slaughter of our troops must have been very considerable. And the enemy have suffered severely.

General Brock is among their slain, and his *aid-de-camp* mortally wounded.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect and consideration, your most obedient servant.

STN. VAN RENSSELAER.

On the 23d of October Gen. Van Rensselaer gives the following additional particulars in the conclusion of a letter addressed to Gov. Tompkins.

“ I cannot in justice to my own feelings to merit, and to the service, close without noting to your excellency a number of officers whose conduct in the late action would have reflected great honor upon veteran soldiers and entitles them to the notice of your excellency and the gratitude of their country.

“ Brig. General Wadsworth proved himself an officer capable of commanding with promptness, coolness and decision, in all the vicissitudes of battle ; and though he was fortunate enough to escape wounds, scarcely a garment had he on, but bears more than one mark of honorable testimony.

“ Col. Van Rensselaer was in the first boat, and the first man on shore ; in the most gallant manner he led the van of the first column through a very-severe fire, and when four wounds prevented his proceeding, he gave his orders with decisive firmness, and they were effectually performed. Major Lush acted as his volun-



teer aid, and his courage and conduct on the field were highly honorable to a young officer.

“Lieut. Colonel Bloom was early in the action and when a wound obliged him to retire from the field he persevered in efforts to urge on reinforcements.

“Lieut. Colonels, Allen, Stranahan and Mead exerted themselves to get as many of their men as possible to the field, and faced the enemy to the last.

“Major Spencer aid de camp to Gen. Wadsworth, is in all respects an excellent officer, and his conduct on the field was honorable.”

Thus for the account of General Van Rensselaer, which was written before he had an opportunity to communicate with the officers who had shared the various fortunes of the day, and who alone were in possession of a knowledge of facts and circumstances sufficient to furnish a correct detail. Major General Van Rensselaer was rather the spectator, than the commander, of the movements of our troops. No event of the war is more involved in obscurity, than the battles of Queens-town. In order to throw all possible light on this dark subject, it will be necessary to give several distinct statements, even at the risk of a repetition. The following extract from the journal of a Cayuga Captain of Militia, will furnish many interesting particulars.

*Extract from the Journal.*

OCTOBER 10, 1812, 4 o'clock P. M. Col. Bloom received orders from Gen. Van Rensselaer, to march with his Regiment for Lewistown, at 2 o'clock the next morning.

OCTOBER 11, at 2 o'clock A. M. Commenced our march, it had rained for some time before we had started—having proceeded two and a half miles, we found it

impossible to go any further ; the rain was incessant, and the night extremely dark—took our quarters in a barn ; at day light proceeded on our march ; we however soon received orders to return to our camp, at Manchester. The object of this movement was to have attacked the enemy at day break, at Queenstown ; but the rain frustrated the plan. The rain continued all this day.

OCTOBER 12. Remained in Camp till 9 o'clock P. M. when, agreeable to General Orders, we commenced our march a second time for Lewistown.

OCTOBER 13. Arrived at Lewistown at 1 o'clock, A. M. Rested on our arms till 4 A. M. when orders were given for crossing the Niagara, and attacking the enemy ; arrived at the River, at half past 4 A. M. there were thirteen Boats at the river ; a detachment of our Regulars and Militia embarked. I was obliged to wait with my company till they should return, which consumed about one hour. During this time we were exposed to the enemy's fire ; several were killed, one wounded at the water's edge. Only three boats returned ; in these, I embarked with my company, and soon reached the opposite shore.

The Enemy's principal battery was taken by storm ; they fled precipitately. Gen. Brock however, soon rallied them, and led them to the charge ; our men fell back, but receiving a small reinforcement, faced about, and renewed the attack. Gen. Brock and his Aid, Col. McDonald, both fell, and the British troops now fled in every direction. About 11 o'clock A. M. the Canadian Militia and Indians had collected in considerable force, and commenced on us a furious attack, but after a short conflict, were completely routed.



Scarcely had we gained this second victory, when a large reinforcement of Regulars was seen to approach towards us from Fort George; they gained all their points about 4 o'clock, P. M. which were as follows :—

Their light Artillery, consisting of five pieces, was posted on our right flank. Their Regulars in front of our line; while their Militia and Indians were endeavouring to surround our left. Thus situated, Gen. Wadsworth called a council of war. It was deemed prudent that we should retreat to a better position. The enemy immediately opened on us a heavy fire, which continued for about half an hour, when we were compelled to surrender, prisoners of war. The Indians did not however directly cease. Several murders were committed. One of our officers in particular, while in the act of offering his sword and commission to a British officer, and soliciting his protection, fell by the blow of a tomahawk. A number of our men, being determined not to surrender, plunged into the Niagara, intending to swim across; some were shot, others drowned, and only three reached the American shore. We were taken to the village of Queenstown. Feelling anxious to render some assistance to my wounded comrades, I made application to return to the field of battle; it was granted. Capt. Hatt of the British Artillery, accompanied me. The first place we went to, was a small flat on the margin of the river, where we first landed; there lay 16 or 17 of our men dead; the first two, however, that we came to, were wounded; one of them expired, the other I removed to a log house, standing near: while thus employed, the Indians descended the bank near where I was, and commenced the most unheard of cruelties, tomahawking, scalping, and stripping the dead

bodies of the Americans. From this, we ascended the heights, which had been the principle scene of the action. The Indians had been here before us. It was a sight of horror ! and I have every reason to believe that some of our wounded had been brought to an untimely end by these savage hell hounds. I asked Capt. Hatt why the Indians were permitted thus to mutilate the dead bodies of our men. He replied, that it was agreeable to the Indian mode of warfare. The conversation then turned on the manner and result of the engagement. Capt. Hatt enquired "whether we had not intended to have made the attack on Sunday morning?" Not wishing to give him a direct answer, I asked him what reason he had for such a belief? He replied, that he was apprised of our movements, and was ready for us. "But" continued he, "I suppose the heavy rain prevented you. I was again informed of your coming at the time you did; I took my positions accordingly, and hence you may account for the severe loss of your boats, in your first attempt to cross." After arriving at Queenstown, I was informed that the prisoners, (wounded excepted) had been removed to Fort George. I was put in close confinement; after having reflected for some time on the events of the day, and what should follow, I lay down on the floor, having had no rest for two nights before, and having been on my feet almost continually for 48 hours, I soon fell asleep and did not awake till next morning.

The Indians had been lurking around the house all night, swearing vengeance against the Yankees for killing so many of their warriors and relations.

OCTOBER 14. I had the mortification to behold from my place of confinement, the dead bodies of the men



who had fallen the day before, lying naked on the ground, white with frost, food for hogs and dogs, which were actually running among them. They were, however, partially buried the next day, after which, I was removed to Fort George.

OCTOBER 15. An Indian chief, who had been killed in the battle of the 13th, was buried with military honors.

OCTOBER 16. General Brock and Col. M'Donald were buried. The regular troops were this day sent to Quebec.

OCTOBER 17. The Militia were all paroled, and passed over to Niagara.

The chief cause of the discomfiture of the American arms, in the attack of the enemy on the 13th, appears to have been the neglect to provide a sufficient number of boats. To convey nearly 3000 men across a deep, wide and rapid stream, only *thirteen* boats were provided; although a competent number were strewed along the road, but a few miles distant.

Other causes operated adversely. The greater part of the troops reached Lewistown by forced marches, through heavy rains. A suitable quantity of ammunition had not been seasonably collected. When Colonels Stranahan and Mead's regiments arrived on the morning of the 13th, these officers immediately called on the commanding General and informed him that their men were in no situation to go into an engagement; that having marched through an incessant rain, they were wet and fatigued; that their arms were not fit for immediate use; that they had not a supply of ammunition, and, that many were even destitute of cartouch boxes, and other necessary equipments. They wished to know

if he could not delay the enterprize for a day or two, which would give their men time to make some preparations, and assured him that in that case, they had no doubt but that their men would then generally volunteer to cross. The General being determined in his purposes, replied that he should delay it no longer. They then applied for ammunition, and were directed to call for it at his quarters, one hour before day. They called at the appointed time, but none had arrived. They were then told to call at sunrise. They called again and learnt, that a waggon had but just started for the arsenal, some distance from the camp. When the sun was one hour above the horison, it returned with a scanty supply !

A scene of confusion had commenced before one third of the troops were across. Of the small number of boats at first collected, some were sunk ; others rendered unmanageable, floated at random in the stream. Several of the boatmen were killed or drowned ; others became irresolute ; few could be found hardy enough to remain at their posts.

Col. Van Rensselaer's early wounds, and the failure of colonel Chrystie's division of boats, to land at the point assigned them, by which he was also wounded, and the greater part of his command made prisoners, at the very onset of the attack, presaged the disasters of the day.

The want of a common commander on the Canadian side, was severely felt ; for it is evident enough, that of the militia officers, General Wadsworth, Cols. Mead, Bloom and Stranahan were by turns commanders in chief. Col. Scott, principally commanded the regular troops ; at times, however, Captains Wool, Malcolm,



Armstrong, Ogilvie and Lieut. Randolph, independently commanded their several companies.

One of the enemy's batteries remained unsilenced, during the whole day. It was situated a little below Queenstown village, on the declivity of the elevated bank—the effect of this battery was terrible, as it was admirably served, and at once, annoyed our men on the American side, and the boats as they attempted to cross. Major Olmstead of Col. Bloom's regiment of N. Y. militia, proposed to General Wadsworth, that if he would furnish him 100 men, he would answer for the capture of that destructive battery. His request was refused, and perhaps with reason.

The killed and wounded, were for a considerable part of the action, sent back to the American side, and placed in full view and hearing of the men who were waiting to cross. This spectacle added to the total want of concert, discipline and means to pass the river, was sufficient to determine, even a brave man, against a useless exposure of life.

Another cause combined its disorganizing influence with the general fatalities of the enterprize.

About one fourth of the detached, or drafted Militia, then upon the banks of Niagara, were the "*friends of peace*," who felt *constitutional* scruples against crossing the U. S. frontiers, whether in pursuit of a British or a savage foe. It was in vain that general Van Rensselaer impressively appealed to the patriotism, the courage and pride of these benevolent disciples of peace. There was indeed a few honorable exceptions; but the greater part with stoical apathy, remained cold spectators of the sanguinary scene: for they came not to fight an enemy, but to paralyze the movements of our troops by

promulgating their new fangled notions of military duty.

The absurd policy of waiting for the enemy, till he shall have passed your frontiers, desolated your dwellings, plundered and burnt your towns and villages, ravaged your fields, debauched your women, and murdered your children, is of very recent discovery, recognized by no government, practised by no people of ancient or modern times.

It is impossible to foresee at what points, and at what moment an enemy may attempt his incursions: While you may expect him in one direction, he may assail you at another. Nothing tends more to diminish the number or unnerve the energy of an army, than to place it in the passive and handcuff predicament of a corps of observation. Such was the army of Hampton in the autumn of 1813; and its achievements are characterized by a want of energy and zeal.

Of all the nations of the earth, the United States ought to be the last to adopt this suicidal policy! Five hundred thousand men could not cover its wide extended frontiers, if collected upon the borders, awaiting in apathy, sickness and death, the uncertain approach of an enemy, who, availing himself of his thousand ships of war, and numerous savage allies, could choose his time and point of invasion.

The most implacable enemy to the independence and rising greatness of America, could not devise a system more destructive to her growth, more dangerous to her existence.

From this digression, it is time to return and conclude the details of this disastrous and illy advised action.

The division of Col, Scott was placed in a battery on



the American shore ; because there was no means provided for conveying their artillery over the river. It opened its fire with spirit and effect, at day break, under the direction of captains Towson and Barker.

Col. Scott passed over about 8 o'clock in the morning, having been ordered to take the command of the whole of the troops engaged. But General Wadsworth, either with or without orders, had previously crossed, so that Col. Scott was obliged to confine his orders to the regular troops, who amounted to nearly two hundred and fifty men. With this handful of heroes, he accomplished all that valor could perform, or skill devise ; he was constantly exposed. He was in full uniform, and of a gigantic stature ; of course a conspicuous mark for the skill of the Indians and Glengary sharp shooters. He was advised by an officer, to lay aside his dress. " No," said he smiling, " I will die in my robes." After our troops had surrendered, an Indian came up to Col. Scott, and attentively surveying him, said, " You are not born to be shot—so many times"—(holding up all the fingers of both hands to count ten,)—" so many times I have levelled, and fired my rifle at you."

Captain Lawrence was dangerously wounded, and several others, killed or knocked down close by his side.

The number of American prisoners,\* militia and regulars, surrendered, are variously stated, from 3 to 700.

\* *Names of the Militia Officers, taken prisoners, at the battle of Queenstown, on the 15th of October, 1812.*

Brig. Gen. Wadsworth, and Maj. Spencer, his Aid.

#### SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

Lieut. Col. Stranahan,

Major Holland,

Capt. Pettigale,

Lieut. Shepard,

—— Houghton,

—— Cully,

The accounts of the killed and wounded, are equally variant. It appears evident however, that there was no material difference between the British and American loss. An officer who had the best opportunity to judge, and who had a full view of the battle ground after the action, estimates the American loss at 200 killed, and 400 wounded.

Lieut. Smith,  
Ensign Peck,

Ensign Denton.

SEVENTEENTH REGIMENT.

Lieut. Col. Mead,  
Capt. Bacon,  
—— Root,  
Lieut. Randel,

Lieut. Field,  
Ensign Haight,  
Sergt. Maj. Windsor.

EIGHTEENTH REGIMENT.

Capt. Cronk,  
Lt. Richmond, wounded.

Ensign White,  
—— Kennedy.

NINETEENTH REGIMENT.

Capt. Sutton,  
—— Eldridge,  
—— Barber,  
—— Ellis,  
—— Brinkerhoff,  
Lieut. Price,

Lieut. Daniels,  
—— Theishler,  
—— Holcomb,  
Ensign Sperry,  
—— Cobb,  
—— Waldroff.

TWENTIETH REGIMENT.

Lieut. Col. Allen,  
Major Smith,  
Capt. Clark,  
—— Brown,

Lieut. Phillips,  
Pay Master Robison,  
Lt. Sweeny, wounded.  
—— Loverhill.

BATTALION OF RIFLEMEN.

Capt. Bacon,  
—— Ireland,  
—— Stanley,  
Lieut. Alexander,  
—— Gray,

Lieut. Wilson,  
—— Smith,  
Ensign Ireland,  
—— Boughton,  
Sergt. Maj. Smith.

Adjutant Stafford, severely wounded, 16th Regt.

The above mentioned Regiments stand as they were



Many brave men fell on this disastrous occasion. The brave captain Nelson, fell on the American side of the river, just as he was stepping into a boat to cross. A grape shot struck him in the side ; he languished several days in the most excruciating torture, and expired. He had been several years in the regular service and possessed all the requisites of a good officer.

Dr. Crosby, from Philadelphia, being on a tour of pleasure and observation on the Niagara frontier, and hearing of the preparations for a descent upon the Canada shore, rode to Lewistown and volunteered in Major Mullany's battalion. He was among the first to cross ; many of his new comrades were killed by his side, and his own musket shot away a little above the lock. After participating in most of the dangers and vicissitudes of the engagement, he was taken prisoner, when he assiduously applied himself to the care of his wounded countrymen.

An officer of the N. Y. Militia, (Major Olmstead) had in the course of the action, ascended a stump, for the purpose of observing the approach of a column—instant-

numbered in the United States service ; all from the Western District of the State of New York.

*Names of United States' Officers, taken prisoners.*

Col. Scott,	Lieut. Hugunin
Lieut. Col. Christie,	— Fink,
— — Fenwick,	— Carr,
Major Mullany,	— Turner,
Capt. Gibson,	— Totten,
— McChesney,	— Bailey,
— Ogilvie,	— Phelps, wounded.
Lieut. Randolph,	— Clark, wounded.
— Thearney,	— McCarty,
— Sammons,	Ensign Reaver.

ly, a cannon ball carried away his foundation and he fell, wounded by the violence of the fall.

The Indian Chiefs, who distinguished themselves either by their valor or their ferocity, were caressed and tapped on the shoulder by the British officers, after the battle.

Several Americans actually swam across from the British to the American shore, notwithstanding the width and the rapidity of the current.

The motives\* of Maj. Gen. Van Rensselaer for ordering the countermarch of Brig. Gen. Smyth's Brigade, have never been satisfactorily explained.

\* To the editors of the National Intelligencer.

*Camp near Buffalo, Nov. 8th, 1812.*

General Smyth has seen in the National Intelligencer the official letter of major general Van Rensselaer, respecting the affair at Queenstown, and has observed that his name is twice introduced in a way that may require explanation.

General V. Rensselaer says, "I had on the 5th inst. (Oct.) written to brig. gen. Smyth requesting an interview with him, major general Hall, and the commandants of the United States' regiments, for the purpose of conferring upon the subject of future operations."

On the 3d of October, general V. Rensselaer ordered a court martial to be held at general Smyth's camp; and on the 5th he addressed a note to general Smyth, requesting an interview upon the earliest day possible, *consistent with the business of the court martial*, and other indispensable duties.

On the 8th, in the night, the attack was made on the Adams and Caledonia. On the 9th, in the morning, gen. Smyth's brigade marched to Black Rock upon an alarm, and two of the regiments were up all that night. On the 11th, at day light, the brigade, three companies excepted, marched for Lewiston; and having proceeded twelve miles through the worst road and weather ever seen, returned, the order being countermanded.



*Further operations on the Niagara, in 1812.*

SOON after the battle of Queenstown, Brig. Gen. Alexander Smyth, became invested with the chief command of the Army of the centre. The regular troops were considerably augmented, and a brigade of nearly 2000 Pennsylvania detached militia, under the orders

There was no time between the 5th and the 13th of October, at which gen. Smyth, with the commanding officers of regiments, could have left the brigade, "consistent with the business of the court martial, and other indispensable duties." Nor would gen. Smyth have deemed it proper, without an order, to have left his brigade within three miles of an enemy, and gone, with all the officers commanding regiments, a day's journey, to repeat an opinion which he had already expressed.

In another part of his letter, general V. Rensselaer says, that on the morning of the 12th, "having now determined to attack Queenstown, I sent new orders to general Smyth *to march*; not with the view of his aid in the attack, for I considered the force detached sufficient; but to support the detachment should the conflict be obstinate and long continued."

General V. Rensselaer *did not* on the 12th send orders to general Smyth *to march*.

On the 13th, about 10 o'clock, A. M. general Van Rensselaer *did* send an order to general Smyth to march, which was received about 2 o'clock, P. M. and obeyed instantly.

*Extract of a letter from brigadier general Smyth, to major general V. Rensselaer, dated Buffalo, 29th September, 1812.*

"From the description I have had of the river be-

of General Tannehill, moved from Pittsburgh to Buffalo, and arrived at Gen. Smyth's Head Quarters, early in November in a state of disgraceful disorganization.

About the 10th of November an animated proclamation from General Smyth to the "Men of New-York," and a spirited Circular Letter from Peter B. Porter, to his friends and acquaintances in the neighboring coun-

ty below the Falls, the view of the shore below Fort Erie, and the information received as to the preparations of the enemy, I am of opinion our crossing should be effected between Fort Erie and Chippawa. It has therefore seemed to me proper to encamp the United States' troops near Buffalo, there to prepare for offensive operations. Your instructions, or better information, may decide you to give me different orders, which I will await."

*H. Quarters, Lewiston, Oct. 12, 1812.*

SIR—I have this moment received your letter of yesterday.

To night I shall again attempt to cross the river, and attack the enemy's batteries on the heights of Queens-town. Should circumstances render it necessary to march your brigade, I will advise you *tomorrow*. With great respect, I am, sir, your, obedient servant.

S. V. RENSSELAER,

Major General commanding.

*Brig. gen. Smyth, of the U. S. forces.*

P. S. Lieut. col. Christie has arrived with boats, &c.

*H. Quarters, Lewistown, October 13, 1812*

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

Brig. gen. Smyth will please to give orders for his brigade to strike their tents and march to Lewistown, with every possible dispatch.

By order of maj. gen. V. Rensselaer.

SOL. V. RENSSELAER,

*Aid de camp.*

N. B. A postscript to the above says, "the heights of Queenstown are carried; and the enemy's firing is nearly silenced in every quarter."



ties, put in motion a great number of volunteers, anxious to join in the expected invasion of Canada.

On the 21st, at 5 o'clock in the morning, all the batteries at Fort George and its vicinity, opened a fire of hot shot upon Fort Niagara, which continued until after sun set. The buildings on the American side, were several times on fire, but extinguished by the exertions of the officers and men. A tremendous fire was returned. The following extract from the report of the commanding officer, Lieut. Col. Geo. M'Feeley, will best afford the reader an adequate idea of this brilliant cannonade.

“Several times during the cannonading, the town of Newark was in flames, but was extinguished by their engines—as also the center building in Fort George. Their messhouse and all the buildings near it were consumed. Captain M'Keon commanded a 12 pounder in the S. E. block house, and distinguished himself by his usual gallantry and skill. Captain Jacks, of the 7th regiment militia artillery, commanded a 6 pounder on the N. block house, and together with a part of his own company, though placed in a situation most exposed to the fire of the enemy, maintained their position like veterans.

“Lieut. Rees of the 3d regiment artillery had the command of an 18 pounder on the S. E. battery, which was pointed at a battery *en barbette*, mounting a 24 pounder, and also at Fort George; several well directed shots were made from this gun, which proved the skill of its commander.

The orders given on the 10th and 13th, for general Smith to march, were so timed, that he should not arrive to share in the honor of the expedition; but might arrive in time to bear the responsibility of its ultimate failure.

“About 10 o'clock Lieut. Rees had his left shoulder bruised by a part of the parapet falling on him ; which, though it did not materially injure him, obliged him to retire, and captain Leonard of the 1st regiment U. S. artillery, at that moment arriving, he took the command of the battery for the remainder of the day. Lieut. Wendell of the 3d regiment artillery, had the command of an 18 and 4 pounder on the west battery—and Dr. Hooper of Capt. Jacks' company militia artillery, had the command of a 6 pounder on the mess house. Of these gentlemen and their commands, I cannot speak with too much praise ; they distinguished themselves highly, and from their shot, all of which was hot, the town of Newark was repeatedly fired, and one of the enemy's batteries silenced for a time.

“An instance of extraordinary bravery in a female (the wife of one Doyle, a private of the U. S. Artillery, made a prisoner at Queenstown) I cannot pass over. During the most tremendous cannonading I have ever seen, she attended the six pounder on the old mess house with red hot shot, and showed fortitude equalling the Maid of Orleans.

“Lieutenants Gansevoort and Harris of the 1st regiment U. S. artillery had the command of the Salt Battery at Youngstown, mounting one 18 and a 4 pounder. These two guns played upon the garrison of Fort George and the buildings near it ; from every observation I could make during their fire, I am happy to say they merited my warmest thanks for their skill in the service of these guns. Lieutenant Harris from his 4 pounder sunk a schooner which lay at their wharf ; she was one of those taken by the enemy at the mouth of the Genessee river a short time since. He also assisted in burning and



destroying the buildings near the wharf. These two officers and their men, in the warmest part of the cannonading, having fired away all their cartridges, cut up their flannel waistcoats and shirts, and the soldiers their trowsers, to supply their guns.

“I cannot say too much in praise of all the officers and soldiers of the artillery immediately under my observation in this garrison ; they merit the thanks and esteem of their country for the defence of it, and I believe it never sustained so sharp and continued a bombardment.

“The enemy threw more than two thousand red hot balls into it, and a number of shells, amounting to more than 180, only one of which did injury to our men.

“Lieutenant colonel Gray commanded the artillery ; the unremitting attention paid to his duty, proves him an officer whose zeal and science do honor to himself and country ; to this gentleman I feel much indebted for the manner in which he acquitted himself.

“To the officers of my regiment (particularly captain Milligan) and the soldiers who assisted the artillery, and those employed in extinguishing the fires and carrying off the killed and wounded, I am also much indebted ; they merit my warmest thanks. To Dr. West of the garrison, Dr. Hagan of the 14th regiment U. S. infantry, and Dr. Craige of the 22d regiment U. S. infantry, I offer my thanks. They were employed during the entire day in the most critical duties of their profession.”

Lieut. Col. M'Feeley speaks in handsome terms of the indefatigable exertions of Major Armistead, of the U. S. corps of engineers, in extinguishing the buildings fired by the enemy.

The Americans lost eleven killed and wounded ;

that of the enemy was far greater, if the reports of deserters are to be believed.

On the 17th of November, General Smyth issued a second Proclamation, in which, he assured the troops that the time was at hand when they would cross the stream of Niagara, to conquer Canada, and to secure the peace of the American frontier.

At 2 o'clock in the morning of the 27th, about 200 sailors and soldiers, under the command of Capt. King, made a descent upon the enemy's shore, opposite Black Rock. They attacked and carried in the most intrepid manner, three different batteries. About 50 of the enemy were made prisoners, among whom were two officers. Five Americans were killed and about 20 wounded; among the former was sailing master Watts; among the wounded was captain Dox. Several British artillery horses were destroyed and two houses containing military stores burnt.

At sunrise, Capt. Sproul of the 15th Infantry, returned with the prisoners, and informed that the enemy had fled to Chippewa, and that Captain King was waiting on the British side, with only 30 men, for the army to cross.

Colonel Winder commanded the van: his troops to the number of 300 were in readiness; they gave three cheers and marched into the boats, which had been collected at the navy yard, which is nearly abreast the center of Squaw Island. At this point there were batteries that completely commanded the British shore.

The success of a campaign often turns on the smallest pivot. Below Squaw Island, we have no battery. It was obvious to several intelligent officers, that if the boats put off at the lower end of this island, there would be no battery to cover their descent, be-



cause the width and strength of the stream would necessarily carry them two or three miles below the enemy's batteries opposite Black Rock, which had been captured by Capt. King's party.

It was in vain that they remonstrated with Colonel Winder against starting so far below the protecting batteries. He replied, "follow me." The boats then put off, not in order like a military troop in column, in line or in file, but in wild disorder. When a little more than half across the river, the enemy hove in sight in quick march. In defiance of the exertions of the boatmen, the current hurried the boats directly towards the enemy, who owing to the irregular and confused state of the boats had a fine opportunity to cut them up in detail, as they attempted to land. Col. Winder's boat being lighter than the rest, he was enabled to keep higher up the Stream and did not discover the enemy until he had landed. On perceiving the enemy, he ordered a general retreat. Lieut. Col. Boerstler, I am assured by a correspondent, actually seized an oar to accelerate his flight. A part of the boats had landed before the enemy commenced their fire; a part had not reached the shore. Lieutenant Burr was for a while the virtual commander of the party, for seizing a musket himself, he fired on the enemy and was the first to give orders for the troops to fire. About 15 were killed or mortally wounded in the boats. Among the wounded was Capt. Lane and Lieut. Burr, Ensign Wetmore of the 23d lost his right arm.

Winder's detachment returned to the navy yard, and at 12 o'clock the whole army were collected in the boats; but a council of war determined against crossing.\*

\* The following documents will illustrate more fully

And thus were blasted the hopes of the nation and the laurels of the unfortunate Smyth.

the causes of the failure of the long menaced invasion of Canada.

### TO THE PUBLIC.

In the *Buffaloe Gazette* of last week, I promised to give an account of some of the most "prominent transactions of the 28th November and first of December." Having, since that time, received from Gen. Smyth, assurances, which, as a man of honor, I am bound to believe, that the course pursued by him on these days, was such as was required by his orders and instructions from the Secretary of War, and Gen. Dearborn, this communication will assume a character quite different from the one then contemplated. I am pledged, however, to the public, to give facts, which I shall proceed to do without comment; leaving it to time to develop the object of military movements which have appeared to me and others not only extraordinary, but inexplicable.

On the 27th of November, there were collected at this point a military force of about 4,500 effective men; consisting of regular troops, New-York, Pennsylvania and Baltimore volunteers, all under the command of Gen. Smyth.

There were lying at the Navy-Yard near Black Rock, which had been previously prepared for the purpose of transporting the troops across the river,

70 public boats calculated to carry 40 men each,	2800
5 long boats belonging to individuals, but which	

had been taken into the public service, calculated to carry 100 men each,	500
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10 scows for artillery, and 25 men each,	250
Besides a number of small boats,	

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3,550

At two o'clock on that day, I received a copy of Gen. Smyth's order for the march of all the troops, the succeeding morning at reveille, to the navy yard, to embark for Canada. I immediately gave orders for the



*Biographical Notice of Col. R. M. Johnson.*

**C**OL. R. M. JOHNSON, is the son of Robert Johnson, a respectable farmer, and one of the first settlers of Kentucky.

The subject of this notice was born, as it were, on the field of battle; for at the time of his birth, Ken-

New-York volunteers who had been placed under my command, to parade at 4 o'clock in the morning at their encampment about one and a half miles from the navy yard. In the evening, I learnt that the parties mentioned in Gen. Smyth's dispatch, were to cross the river at 11 o'clock at night, to attack the enemy's batteries opposite Black Rock. Gen. Smyth not being here, I waited on Lieut. Angus and suggested to him the propriety (if within the scope of his orders) of postponing the enterprize until nearly morning, to give as little time as possible, before the passage of the army, for the enemy's troops to collect from their stations down the river. They landed at three in the morning, under a severe fire of musketry, and grape shot from two pieces of flying artillery. Lieut. Angus, with our little band of sailors, assisted by Captain Craig and a few of his party, attacked the principal force of the enemy, consisting of about 100, at the Red House (the seamen charging with their pikes and swords against muskets and bayonets) and routed them in all directions: Capt. Dox, who took a distinguished part in this affair, was severely wounded, after a hard and destructive engagement, the enemy was completely dispersed, the two field pieces spiked, and the house in which the enemy quartered, fired; the seamen returned to our shore, bringing off their wounded and several prisoners. Out of 12 naval officers who embarked in this enterprize, nine of them, with more than half their men, were killed or wounded. If brave-

tucky was one continued scene of savage warfare. His cradle was surrounded with peril and difficulties. While an infant, and when his father was absent in Virginia on business, he was in a feeble and shattered Fort; filled with women and children, defended by only 50 men, against the furious assaults of 500 Indian warriors.

ry be a virtue—if the gratitude of a country be due to those who gallantly and desperately asserted its rights, the government will make ample and honorable provision for the heirs of those brave tars who fell on this occasion, as well as for those who survived. Capt. King proceeded to spike and dismount the guns in the batteries. Lt. Col. Børstler dispersed the enemy lower down the river, taking a number of prisoners.

By sunrise in the morning, most of the troops had arrived at the place of embarkation, and the day was fine. I marched 300 of the volunteers, who had rallied under Gen. Smyth's invitation, well armed and provided, and in high spirits : about 150 more, who came in the evening before, were at Buffalo drawing their arms and ammunition, with orders to join us as soon as possible. I stationed my men as instructed by Gen. Smyth, in a field at the navy yard, with directions to wait for further orders. The parties who had crossed in the night, aided by our batteries, which at day light opened a powerful and well directed fire, and a piece of flying artillery on the island, under charge of Capt. Gibson, had driven every thing from the opposite shore : Col. Winder, an officer of great intelligence, zeal and bravery, under the mistaken apprehension that the party under Lieut. Col. Børstler were in danger of being cut off, made an unsuccessful attempt (though his own boat landed) to land 250 men at a difficult point down the river, and had returned as stated by Gen. Smyth. The general embarkation now commenced, but it went on so tardily, that at twelve o'clock, the whole of the regular troops, and Col. Swift's regiment, were not in boats. A considerable number of boats were lying on the shores



At this period no one was exempt from danger : frequently the red savage would rush from the thicket and dispatch the defenceless laborer, bearing away his scalp in triumph, before succoring friends could interpose to avert the fatal stroke. The inhabitants were obliged to dwell in stockades, and cultivate their fields in armed

of the river and creek, having been thrown up by the high water of the preceding day. Several were in the creek half filled with water and ice. I called on Gen. Smyth and proposed to occupy part of these boats with my volunteers, many of whom were impatient to embark. Being however at this moment informed by Col. Porter, that the boats which had been used by Col. Winder were lying about a mile below, Major Chapin and myself, with about 30 men, went down the shore, bro't up five boats, filled them with men, and arrived at Black Rock, the point at which it was proposed to put off, as soon as any of the regular troops. About two o'clock, all the troops which it appeared were intended to be crossed at first were collected in a group of boats at Black Rock under the cover of our batteries. I have no official account of the number of men in the boats at Black Rock, under the cover of our batteries. I have seen no official account of the number of men in the boats. My opinion was that the number exceeded 2,000. Most men of observation who were present, estimate it at 2,600. The men were in fine spirits, and desirous of crossing.

Gen. Tannehill's volunteers, Col. G. M'Clure's regiment, some riflemen, cavalry, &c. amounting to about 2,000 were all paraded on the shore, and, as I am informed, were ready to cross. Several boats of sufficient capacity to carry about 1000 men, were still lying at the navy yard unoccupied. I have not been able to learn that any order or request was made for the embarkation of the troops other than the regulars, of Col. Swift's regiment. The enemy, estimated at about 500, were drawn up in a line about half a mile from the river.

bodies—some performing the labors of agriculture, while others were posted as sentinels or patrolled in quest of the lurking foe. It was thus that the incomparably fine country situated between the declivities of the Allegheny and the Ohio, was first settled.

His early years were distinguished by the boldness

After remaining in the boats till late in the afternoon, an order was received to disembark. It produced among the officers and men generally great discontent and murmuring, which was, however, in some degree allayed by assurances that the expedition was only postponed for a short time, until our boats could be better prepared.

On Sunday another order was issued by General Smyth, for the march of the troops to the navy yard, to embark at 9 o'clock on Monday morning. I was at Buffalo when it was received, and found that it was generally, as to time and manner, disapproved by the officers of the volunteers. I saw Gen. Smyth, in the evening, at Black Rock, with Col. Winder, and stated my objections to his plan. The enemy had remounted his guns on the batteries, so as to render it inexpedient to cross at the favorable point which had been taken on Saturday; above the island that covers the navy yard. Immediately below the island, the enemy lay in force, much augmented in consequence of the affair of Saturday, occupying a line of shore of about a mile, where the current is rapid, and the banks abrupt. I did not believe it possible to effect a landing with raw troops, in any tolerable order, if at all, in the face of the flying artillery and infantry, which a full view of our movements in the day time would enable them to oppose us. I proposed to postpone the expedition to night—to march and embark the troops silently—to put off about an hour and a half before day light, so as to pass this dangerous line of shore in the dark, when we should suffer less from their fire, and to land about 5 miles below the navy yard, where the stream and the banks of the river were peculiarly favorable to a safe and orderly landing.



of his enterprizes, and an extraordinary perseverance in their execution. His scholastic opportunities for the first 15 years of his life, were limited. At fifteen, he left his father's house, for a country grammar school, having left behind him a character for industry and management, which produced in his father some reluctance

Col. Winder seconded my proposals with great earnestness and force—and it was adopted. The army was to embark at 3 o'clock on Tuesday morning, and to proceed at half past 4, according to the order of a line of battle submitted a few days before, by General Smyth—the regulars on the right, or in the front boats; Gen. Tannehill's troops in the center, and the New York volunteers on the left. I was to go in the front boat with a chosen set of men; direct the landing, and join the New York volunteers on their arrival.

On Monday evening, seven boats for Col. Swift's regiment, and eight for the late volunteers, were brought some distance up the river, and left at different points, to avoid the noise and confusion of embarking the whole army at one place. At half past 3 on Tuesday morning, the eight boats were filled with volunteers (a corps of which has, on every occasion while on the lines, shown great exactness of discipline, promptitude and zeal for the service) had embarked, and the residue embarking. Not a man of the regular infantry was in the boats for about half an hour, when Col. Winder's regiment entered their boats with great order and silence.

About three quarters of an hour after this, the remaining regulars commenced the embarkation, when I dropped down to the front of the line, with a flag in my boat, to designate it as the leading boat. I was accompanied by Majors Cyrenus Chapin, and John W. Macomb, Capt. Mills of the cavalry, Adjutant Chace, and Quarter Master Chapin, two pilots and about 25 volunteers of Buffalo, under Lieut. Haynes.

I mention the names of these gentlemen because they had before decidedly objected to passing at the proposed point by day light, but when day appeared, and one

at his departure. Nor did his friends seem to encourage any course of education that would lead to a professional pursuit. However, after four years spent in alternate study and attentions to his father's business, he commenced the practice of law, being then only 19 years of age.

of the men raised some difficulty on that account, he was induced to remain, and it was unanimously agreed to incur the additional hazard, and patiently wait the order of the General to put off. At day light we discovered the troops disembarking, and were informed that the invasion of Canada had been abandoned for this season, and that the troops were ordered to winter quarters. A scene of confusion ensued, which it is difficult to describe. About 4000 men, without order or restraint, discharging their muskets in every direction.

About one thousand volunteers came in under Gen. Smyth's proclamation, but owing to the state of the roads, which was bad beyond example, many did not arrive until after the first of December.

It is impossible for me to form any estimate of the number of troops embarked at any time this morning; it was yet scarcely light, and I was at one end of a line of boats occupying a distance of half a mile. When the volunteers first arrived at the navy yard, and it was found that the regular troops had not yet appeared, their officers were instructed to permit them to land and keep themselves warm by exercise, as the boats were covered with snow which had fallen during the night; but they were instructed not to leave the side of the boats, that they might immediately reenter.

PETER B. PORTER.

*Black Rock, December 14, 1812.*

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*Head Quarters, Camp near Buffalo, Dec. 3.*

GENTLEMEN—Your letter of the 2d December is before me, and I answer it in the following manner:

On the 26th October, I ordered that 20 scows should



He entered upon the theater of public life at twenty two, and has never been out of civil employ a single day since. After serving two years in the Kentucky legislature, he was elected a member of congress, in which capacity he has served the last seven years. His vote has always been found on the side of his country.

be prepared for the transportation of artillery and cavalry, and put the carpenters of the army upon that duty.

By the 26th of November, 10 scows were completed, and by bringing some boats from Lake Ontario, above the falls of Niagara, the number was increased to 70.

I had on the 12th November, issued an address to the men of New-York, and perhaps 300 had arrived at Buffalo. I presumed that the regular troops, and the volunteers under colonels Swift and M'Clure, would furnish 2360 men for duty ; and of Gen. Tannehill's brigade from Pennsylvania, reporting a total of 1650, as many as 412 had volunteered to cross into Canada. My orders were to "cross with 5000 men at once." I deemed myself ready to fulfil them.

Preparatory thereto, on the night of the 27th of November, I sent over two parties, one under lieut. colonel Boerstler, the other under Capt. King, with whom Lieut. Angus, of the navy, at the head of a body of seamen, united. The first was to capture a guard and destroy a bridge about 5 miles below Fort Erie : the second party were to take and render useless the cannon of the enemy's batteries, and some pieces of light artillery. The first party failed to destroy the bridge—the second, after rendering unserviceable the light artillery, separated by misapprehension. Lieut. Angus, the seamen, and part of the troops, returned, with all the boats, while Capt. King, Capt. Morgan, Capt. Sproul, Lieut. Houston, and about 60 men, remained. The party thus reduced, attacked, took, and rendered unserviceable two of the enemy's batteries, captured 34 prisoners, found two boats, in which Capt. King sent the prisoners and about half his party with the other officers ; he him-

His speeches are replete with manly eloquence, patriotic sentiment, and persuasive reasoning.

After voting for the declaration of war against Great Britain, he raised a battalion of mounted volunteers, which was ultimately augmented to a regiment, and from a private in the ranks he became the chief of the self remained with 30 men, whom he would not abandon.

Orders had been given, that all troops in the neighborhood should march at reveille, to the place of embarkation. A part of the detachment sent in the night returned and excited apprehensions for the residue, about 250 men, under the command of Col. Winder, suddenly put off in boats for the opposite shore; a part of this force had landed, when a force deemed superior, with one piece of artillery, was discovered; a retreat was ordered, and Col. Winder's detachment suffered a loss of 6 killed and 19 wounded, besides some officers.

The general embarkation commenced as the troops arrived—but this, being a first embarkation, the whole of the scows were occupied by about one third of the artillery, while about 800 regular infantry, about 200 twelve months volunteers, under colonel Swift, and about 200 of the militia who had volunteered for a few days, occupied all the boats that were ready. The troops then embarked, moved up the stream to Black Rock without loss, they were ordered to disembark and dine.

I had received from my commanding general an instruction in the following words—"in all important movements you will, I presume, consider it advisable to consult some of your principal officers." I deemed this equivalent to an order; and the movement important. I called for the field officers of the regulars and twelve months volunteers embarked. Colonel Porter was not found at the moment. These questions were put—*Is it expedient now to cross? Is the force we have sufficient to conquer the opposite shore?*



mounted corps. His services on the frontiers of Ohio, and upon the banks of the Thames, have secured him an imperishable military reputation. On the 13th of April 1814, the ladies of Scott county presented him an elegant sword in consideration of his valor and unshaken firmness at the battle of the Moravian town.

The first question was decided in the negative by Colonels Parker, Schuyler, Winder, Lieut. Colonels Berstler, Coles, and Major Campbell, Col. Swift alone gave an opinion for then crossing over.

The second question was not decided. Colonels Parker, Schuyler, Lieutenant Colonel Coles and Major Campbell were decidedly of opinion that the force was insufficient. Colonels Winder, Swift, Lieutenant Colonel Berstler and Captain Gilman, deemed the force sufficient.

I determined to postpone crossing over until more complete preparations would enable me to embark the whole force at once, the counsel prescribed by my orders. The next day was spent in such preparation, and the troops were ordered to be again at the place of embarkation at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 30th November. On their arrival they were sent into the adjacent woods, there to build fires and remain until 3 o'clock, A. M. of the 1st of December, when it was intended to put off two hours before day light, so as to avoid the enemy's cannon in passing the position which it was believed they occupied below, to land above Chippeway, assault that place, and, if successful, march through Queenstown for Fort George. For this expedition the contractor was called on to furnish rations for 2500 men for four days, when it was found he could furnish the pork, but not the flour, the deputy quarter master called for 60 barrels and got but 35.

The embarkation commenced, but was delayed by circumstances, so as not to be completed until after daylight, when it was found the regular infantry, 688 men, the artillery 127 men, Swift's volunteers, estimated at

During to recess of congress he devotes most of his time to agricultural pursuits—having for a number of years abandoned the practice of law.

Col. Johnson is in statue rather above the middle size; well formed; of a firm but prepossessing aspect; his words are few, but always expressed with grace and energy.

236, companies of federal volunteers, under Capts. Collins, Phillips, Allison, Moore, Maher and Marshall, amounting to 276 men, commanded by Lieut. Col. M'Clure, 100 men of Col. Dobbin's militia, and a few men in a boat with Gen. P. B. Porter had embarked—the whole men on board amounting, exclusive of officers, to 1465 men, or thereabouts; and it was two hours later than had been contemplated.

There were some groups of men not yet embarked; they were applied to, requested and ordered by the brigade major to get into their boats—they did not. The number of these the brigade major estimated at about 150. It was probably greater.

It then became a question whether it was expedient to invade Canada in open day light, with 1500 men, at a point where no reinforcement could be expected for some days. I saw that the number of regular troops was declining rapidly—I knew that on them chiefly I was to depend.

I called together the officers commanding corps of the regular army. Col. Parker being sick, those present were Col. Porter of the artillery, Col. Schuyler, Col. Winder and Lieut. Col. Coles.

I put to them this question:—*Shall we proceed?* They unanimously decided that we ought not.

I foresaw that the volunteers who had come out for a few days, would disperse—several of them had on the evening of the 28th broke their muskets. I foresaw that the number of the regular troops would decrease; the measles and other diseases, being among them; and they were now in tents in the month of December. I inform-



Although a cloud of witnesses could verify the fact that he killed Tecumseh in fair personal combat, still his modesty would never permit him to proclaim himself the hero of that chivalrous feat. He is doubtful whether the Shawansee chieftain approached him with a tomahawk or sword; for this reason: he kept his eye full on that of his savage foe, without regarding his

ed the officers that the attempt to invade Canada would not be made until the army was reinforced; directed them to withdraw their troops, and cover them with huts immediately.

You say that on Saturday every obstruction was removed, and that a landing might have been effected "without the loss of a single man." This proves you unacquainted with the occurrences of the day. Col. Winder, in returning from the enemy's shore in the morning, lost a tenth part of his force in killed and wounded. The enemy shewed no more than 5 or 600 men, as estimated by Col. Parker, and one piece of artillery, supposed a nine pounder. That force, we no doubt might have overcome; but not without loss; and that, from the great advantage the enemy would have had, might have been considerable.

To recapitulate:—My orders were to pass into Canada with 3000 men *at once*. On the first day of embarkation not more than 1100 men were embarked, of whom 400, that is, half the regular infantry, were exhausted with fatigue, and want of rest. On the second embarkation, only 1500 men were embarked, and these were to have put off immediately, and to have descended the river to a point where reinforcements were not to be expected. On both days, many of the regular troops were men in bad health, who could not have stood one days march; who, although they were on the sick report, were turned out by their ardent officers.

The affair at Queenstown is a caution against relying on crowds who go to the bank of Niagara to look on a battle as on a theatrical exhibition; who if they are dis-

weapons. This exclusive attention to the eye of Tecumseh enabled the colonel to fathom his intentions and anticipate his blow.

Among other excellent traits of character, is the liberality with which he encourages young men of genius in humble life: for he has on more occasions than one,

appointed of the sights, break their muskets: or if they are without rations for a day desert.\*

I have made to you this frank disclosure without admitting your authority to require it; under the impression that you are patriotic and candid men; and that you will not censure me for following the cautious counsels of experience; nor join in the senseless clamor excited against me by an interested man.

I have some reasons to believe that the cautious counsel given by the superior officers of my command was good. From deserters we learn, that 2344 rations are issued daily on the frontiers, on the British side. Capt. King, prisoner at Fort George, writes to an officer thus—"tell our friends to take better care of themselves than it appears I have done."

I am, gentlemen, with great respect, your most obedient,

ALEXANDER SMYTH,  
Brigadier General.

To Messrs. Geo. M. Clare, Lewis Birdsall,  
John Griffen and Wm. B. Rochester, a  
committee from the patriotic citizens of  
the western counties of New York. }

P. S. It will be observed that the force ready could be no otherwise ascertained than by an actual embarkation—it being uncertain what portion of the volunteer force would embark.

\* Six hundred of Genl. Tannehill's brigade deserted in twenty four hours. A court martial of this brigade have fined a man twelve and a half cents, for the crime of desertion!



by an honorable and munificent patronage, drawn merit from obscurity and genius from the cottage.

His whole regiment even to a man, were enthusiastically attached to him. They dreaded nothing so much as his reproof. The patience and fortitude with which he endured the anguish of his wounds, and the incredible fatigues, severities and privations of his passage from Detroit to Sandusky, and from thence to Kentucky, surpassed if possible his courage on the field of battle. In the boisterous month of November, amid almost incessant rains—with five severe wounds which had barely begun to heal, he was conveyed from his lodgings in Detroit, to a boat but illy provided with hands and with scarcely a covert from the chilling storms of the season. —His fortunes are then committed to the elements—the trail barge is tossed on the tempestuous lake by many an adverse gale—night and day the laboring oars are applied—the rain descends in torrents—the ablest hands are exhausted—for toil is constant and sleep a stranger. Finally, after 90 hours of unremitted exertion the party arrive at Fort Stephenson—at midnight: for the indefatigable James Johnson was *at helm*, and no obstacle is to him insurmountable.

Here the boat is abandoned—and the wounded hero is placed on a litter, suspended between two horses—the rains recommence; but the rout is continued—a dreary wilderness, streams unfordable, horrible roads, numerous rivers and a tedious distance of 300 miles separated our party from their beloved Kentucky. Yet all these formidable impediments were overcome with inflexible perseverance and astonishing celerity.

This is not fiction nor exaggeration—it is rather an imperfect picture of that Herculean and unexampled

journey. What cannot man endure when sustained and buoyed up by an invincible firmness of soul !

After spending eight or ten weeks in Kentucky, he was so far recovered from his wounds that he repaired to the seat of government, and resumed his seat in congress. The fame of his exploits had preceded him ; and he was every where received with distinguished testimonials of respect and admiration, which heroic achievements always inspire.



*Biographical notice of Lieut. Col. George Croghan.*

A FEMALE correspondent of the Port Folio, who during the early years of Croghan, was an inmate under the same roof, has given the following sketch of his juvenile character.

“Though ingenious in his disposition and unassuming and conciliating in his manner, he was remarkable for discretion and steadiness. His opinions, when once formed, were maintained with modest, but persevering firmness; and the propriety of his decisions generally justified the spirit with which they were defended. Yet, though rigid in his adherence to principle, and his estimate of what was right or improper, in cases of minor importance he was all compliance. I never met with a youth who would so cheerfully sacrifice every personal gratification to the wishes or accommodation of his friends. In sickness and disappointment he evinced a degree of patience and fortitude which could not have been exceeded by any veteran in the school of misfortune or philosophy. Were I asked, what were the most prominent features of his character? or rather, what were the prevailing dispositions of his mind? at the period of which I am speaking, I would answer *decision* and *urbanity*; the former resulting from the uncommon and estimable qualities of his understanding—the latter, from the concentration of all the sweet “charities of life” in his heart.

“Lieutenant Colonel George Croghan, was born at Locust Grove, near the falls of Ohio, on the 15th of

November, 1791. His father Major William Croghan, left Ireland at an early period, was appointed an officer in our revolutionary army, and discharged his duties as such, to the satisfaction of the commander in chief.— His mother is the daughter of John Clark, Esq. of Virginia, a gentleman of worth and respectability, who exerted himself greatly and contributed largely towards the support of our just and glorious contest. He had five sons; four of whom were officers in the revolutionary army. General William Clark, who, together with Captain Lewis, explored, and is at present the governor of Louisiana, was too young to participate with his brothers in the achievement of our liberties: but his conduct since is a sufficient demonstration of the part he would have taken, had he been riper in years. The military talents of George R. Clark have obtained for him the flattering appellation of “the father of the western country.”

“Colonel Croghan has always been esteemed generous and humane; and, when a boy, his manly appearance and independence of sentiment and action, commanded the attention and admiration of all who knew him.

“The selection of his speeches for scholastic exercises tended in some measure to mark his peculiar talent. They were of a nature entirely military. He read with delight whatever appertained to military affairs, and would listen for hours to conversations respecting battles. His principal amusements were gunning and fox hunting. He would frequently rise at twelve o'clock at night, and repair to the woods alone, (or with no attendant but his little servant,) either to give chase to the fox, or battle to the wildcat and racoon.



“Nothing offended him more, than for any one even in jest, to say a word disrespectful of Washington.

“While in the state of Kentucky his time was principally occupied by the study of his native tongue—geography—the elements of geometry—and the Latin and the Greek languages. In these different branches of literature he made a respectable progress.

“In the year 1808, he left Locust Grove for the purpose of prosecuting his studies in the university of William and Mary. In this institution he graduated as A. B. on the 4th of July 1810; and delivered, on the day of his graduation, an oration on the subject of expatriation. This oration was deemed by the audience, concise, ingenious, and argumentative, and was pronounced in a manner which did great credit to his oratorical powers. The ensuing summer he attended a course of lectures on law, and upon the termination of the course, returned to his father's where he prosecuted the study of the same profession, and occasionally indulged himself in miscellaneous reading. Biography and history have always occupied much of his attention. He is an enthusiastic admirer of the writings of Shakespeare, and can recite most of the noted passages of that great poet and philosopher. He admires tragedy, but not comedy. He is (as his countenance indicates rather) of a serious cast of mind; but no one admires more a pleasant anecdote, or an unaffected sally of wit. With his friends he is affable and free from reserve—his manners are prepossessing; he dislikes ostentation, and was never heard to utter a word in praise of himself.

“In the autumn of 1811, was fought the battle of Tippecanoe. This was the first opportunity that offered

For the display of his military talents. He embraced it with avidity—he left his father's house in the character of a volunteer, and was appointed aid to General Harrison. On the 7th of November an attack was made on the troops under the command of that officer; the enemy were repulsed with valor; and during the engagement young Croghan evinced the greatest courage, activity and military skill. His services were acknowledged by all; and he exhibited such proofs of a genius for war, that many of his companions in arms remarked that “he was born a soldier.” A cant saying among the troops of Tippecanoe, was, “to do a main business,” and during the battle, he would ride from post to post, exciting the courage of the men by exclaiming, “Now my brave fellows, now is the time to do a main business.” Upon the return of the troops from Tippecanoe they were frequently met by persons coming to ascertain the fate of their children or friends. Among the number of these was a very poor and aged man, whose son was slain in the battle. Colonel Croghan having ascertained the situation of the old man and observing his inability to perform much bodily labor, regularly made his fires for him every morning, and supplied him with provisions, clothes and money. Many acts of this kind are related of him by the soldiers and officers of Tippecanoe.

“After the battle of Tippecanoe his military ardor greatly increased, and upon the prospect of a speedy declaration of war he expressed a desire to join the army. Recommendatory letters of the most flattering kind were written by Generals Harrison and Boyd to the secretary of war, and upon the commencement of hostilities against Great Britain, he was appointed Cap-



tain in the 17th regiment of infantry. He was stationed sometime at Clark cantonement, near the falls of Ohio; but had not been long in command there, before he was ordered to march, with what regulars he had, to the head quarters of the north western army, then at Detroit. His countenance beamed with delight upon receiving this order. Before they had proceeded far they heard of Hull's surrender.

“Shortly after this, the command of the north western army was given to General Harrison. Colonel Croghan commanded a short time at Fort Defiance, on the Miami, but upon the defeat of General Winchester, he was ordered to Fort Meigs.

His subsequent achievements are recorded in another part of this work.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

## APPENDIX.



(A.)

[These letters were taken with Proctor's baggage, on the 5th of October, 1813.]

I.

*Rapids, July 2, 1794*

SIR—I have this moment received intelligence that the Indians were encamped within 30 miles of Fort Greenville on the 27th of last month, and that they sent here the scalp of a Chickasaw [the Chickasaws were at that time with the American army] taken that day by one of their scouts, so that from the situation of the contending parties it may be presumed that a few days will bring news of importance which I shall not fail to send you by the first opportunity.

By the same channel I learn that a large body of troops, supposed to be 3000, with waggons, &c. crossed the Ohio some days ago and marched towards the forts in the Indian country.

I am *much pressed* for tobacco and ammunition, which I hope *I may receive* by the return of the boat.

I am with very great respect, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

A. McKEE.

*Col England, &c. &c. &c. Detroit.*

(Endorsed "on his majesty's service.")

II.

*Rapids, July 5, 1794.*

SIR—I send you this by a party of Saganas, who returned yesterday from Fort Recovery where the whole body of Indians, except the Delawares who had gone



another route, *imprudently* attacked the fort on Monday the 30th of last month and lost 16 or 17 men, besides a good many wounded.

Every thing had been settled prior to their leaving the fallen timber,\* and it had been agreed upon to confine themselves to taking convoys and attacking at a distance from the forts, if they should have the address to entice *the enemy out* ; but the impetuosity of the Mackina Indians and their eagerness to begin with the nearest, prevailed with the others to alter their system, the consequences of which, from the present appearance of things, may not materially injure the interests of these people ; both the Mackina and Lake Indians seem resolved on going home again, having completed the belts they carried with scalps and prisoners, having no provisions there or at the Glaze to subsist upon, so that his majesty's posts will derive no security from the late great influx of Indians into this part of the country should they persist in their resolution of *returning so soon*.

The immediate object of the attack was 300 pack horses going from this fort to Fort Greenville, in which the Indians *completely succeeded*, taking and killing all of them. But the commanding officer, capt. Gibson, sending out a troop of cavalry, and bringing his infantry out in front of his post, the Indians attacked them and killed about 50, among whom is capt. Gibson and two other officers. On the near approach of the Indians to the fort, the remains of his garrison retired into it, and from their loop holes killed and wounded as already mentioned. Captain Elliot writes that they are immediately to hold a council at the Glaze in order to try if they can prevail on the Lake Indians to remain ; but without provisions, ammunition, &c. being sent to that place, *I conceive it will be extremely difficult to keep them together*.

\* Supposed to be the place where Wayne's battle was fought.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, your most obedient and very humble servant,

A. McKEE.

*Col. England, commandant at Detroit, &c. &c.*  
(Endorsed "on his majesty's service.")

### III.

*Rapids, August 13, 1794.*

SIR—I was honored last night with your letter of the 11th, and am extremely glad to find you are making such exertions to supply the Indians with provisions.

Captain Elliot arrived yesterday; what he has brought will greatly relieve us, having been obliged all day yesterday to take all the corn and flour which the traders had here.

A scouting party from the Americans carried off a man and woman yesterday morning between this place and Roche de Bout, and afterwards attacked a small party of Delawares in their camp; but they were repulsed with the loss of a man, whom they either hid or threw into the river. They killed a Delaware woman.

Scouts are sent up to view the situation of the army, and WE now muster 1000 Indians. All the Lake Indians from Sagana downwards should not lose one moment in joining their brethren, as every accession of strength is an addition to their spirits.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

A. McKEE.

*Col. England, &c. &c. &c. Detroit.*  
(Endorsed "on his majesty's service.")

### IV.

*Camp, near Fort Miami, August 30, 1794.*

SIR—I have been employed several days in endeavoring to fix the Indians (who have been driven from their villages and cornfields) between the fort and the bay.—Swan creek is generally agreed upon, and will be a very convenient place for the delivery of provisions &c.

The last accounts from Gen. Wayne's army were brought me last night by an Indian who says the army would not be able to reach the Glaze before yesterday



evening, it is supposed on account of the sick and wounded, many of whom they bury every day.

I propose being in town in a day or two, when I hope for the pleasure of paying you my respects.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

A. McKEE.

*Col. England, &c. &c. &c. Detroit.*  
(Endorsed "on his majesty's service.")

(B.)

*Extracts of letters to the secretary of war, laid before Congress June 11th, 1812.*

From Capt. Dunham, of the United States' Army.

*"Michilimackinac, May 24, 1807.*

"There appears to be a very general and extensive movement among the savages in this quarter. Belts of wampum are rapidly circulating from one tribe to another, and a spirit is prevailing by no means pacific. The enclosed *talk* which has been industriously spread among them needs no comment.

"There is certainly *mischief at the bottom*, and there can be no doubt in my mind that the object and intention of this great Maniton or second Adam, under the pretence of restoring to the aborigines their former independence, and to the savage character its ancient energies, is in reality to induce a general effort to rally and to strike, somewhere a desperate blow.

"Extract from a talk delivered at Le Maiouitinong, entrance of lake Michigan, by the Indian Chief Le Maigouis, or the *Trout*, May 4, 1807 :

"I am the father of the English, of the French, of the Spaniards and of the Indians. I created the first man, who was the common father of all these people as well as yourselves ; and it is through him, whom I have awakened from his long sleep, that I now address you. *But the Americans I did not make ; they are not my children, but the children of evil Spirits.* They grew from the scum of the great waters when it was troubled by the evil Spirit, and the froth was driven into the woods

by a strong east wind. They are numerous, but I hate them. My children, you must not speak of this talk to the whites; it must be hidden from them. I am now on the earth, sent by the great Spirit to instruct you. Each village must send me two or more principal Chiefs to represent you, that you may be taught. The bearer of this talk will point out to you the path to my wigwam. I could not come myself to Abre Crocte, because the world is changed from what it was. It is broken and leans down, and as it declines, the Chippewas and all beyond will fall off and die; therefore you must come and to me, and be instructed. Those villages which do not listen to this talk and send me two deputies, will be cut off from the face of the earth."

From Capt. Dunham of the United States' Army.

*"Michilimackinac, August 30, 1807.*

"The cause of the hostile feelings on the part of the Indians, is principally to be attributed to the influence of foreigners trading in the country."

From Governor William H. Harrison.

*"Jeffersonville, Falls of Ohio, 14th April, 1808.*

"A young man from the Delaware towns, came to inform me that a Pottawattamie Indian had arrived at the towns, with a speech from the British, in which they were informed that they (the British) were upon the point of commencing hostilities against the United States, and requesting the Delawares to join them."

From General William Clark.

*"St. Louis, April 30, 1809.*

"I have the honor to enclose you a copy of a letter which confirms my suspicions of the British interference with our Indian affairs in this country."

Extract referred to above.

"I am at present in the fire, receiving Indian news every day. A chief of the Puant nation appears to be employed by the British to get all the nations of the Indians to Detroit, to see their fathers, the British, who tell them that they pity them in their situation with the Americans, because the Americans had taken their lands and their game, that they must join and send them



off from their lands. They told the savages, that the Americans could not give them a blanket nor any thing good for their families.

“They said they had but one father that helped them in their misfortunes, and that they would assemble, defend their father, and keep their lands. It appears that four English subjects have been at Riviere a la Roche this winter, in disguise; they have been there to get the nations together and send them on the American frontiers. The Indians are pushed on by our enemies to take the fort of Belle Vue.”

From Samuel Tupper, Indian factor.

“*Sandusky, 7th June, 1809.*

“The conduct of British traders introducing spirituous liquors among the Indians in this part of the country and their determined hostility to the measures of our government, have long been subjects of complaint.”

From Governor William Hull.

“*Detroit, June 16, 1809.*

“The influence of the Prophet has been great, and his advice to the Indians injurious to them and the United States. The powerful influence of the British has been exerted in a way alluring to the savage character.

From Governor Harrison.

“*Vincennes, 14th June, 1810.*

“An Iowa Indian informs me, that two years ago this summer, an agent from the British, arrived at the Prophet's town, and in his presence delivered the message with which he was charged: the substance of which was to urge the Prophet to unite as many tribes as he could against the United States, but not to commence hostilities until they gave the signal. From this man and others of his nation, I learn that the Prophet has been constantly soliciting their own and other tribes of the Mississippi to join him against the United States.”

From Governor Harrison.

“*Vincennes, July 18, 1810.*

“A considerable number of Sacs went some time since to see the British superintendant, and on the 1st

instant, fifty more passed Chicago for the same destination.

“A Miami Chief who has just returned from his annual visit to Malden, after having received the accustomed donation of goods, was thus addressed by the British agent: “My son keep your eyes fixed on me; my tomahawk is now up; be you ready, but do not strike until I give the signal.”

From General William Clark.

“*St. Louis, July 20, 1810.*

“One hundred and fifty Sacs are on a visit to the British agent, by invitation, and a smaller party on a visit to the island of St. Joseph in lake Huron.”

From Governor W. H. Harrison.

“*Vincennes, July 25, 1810.*

“There can be no doubt of the designs of the Prophet and British agent of Indians affairs, to do us injury. This agent is a refugee from the neighbourhood of , and his implacable hatred to his native country prompted him to take part with the Indians in the battle between them and Gen. Wayne’s army. He has, ever since his appointment to the principal agency used his utmost endeavors to excite hostilities, and the lavish manner in which he is allowed to scatter presents amongst them, shews that his government participates in his enmity, and authorizes his measures.”

From Governor William Hull.

“*Detroit, July 27, 1810.*

“Large bodies of Indians from the westward and southward continue to visit the British post at Amherstburg, and are supplied with provisions, arms, ammunition, &c. Much more attention is paid to them than usual.”

Extract from the speech of Red Jacket, in behalf of himself and the other deputies of the six nations,  
February 1810.

“*Brother,*—Since you have had some disputes with the British government, their agents in Canada have not only endeavored to make the Indians at the westward your enemies, but they have sent a war belt amongst



our warriors to poison their minds and make them break their faith with you. At the same time we had information that the British had circulated war belts among the western Indians, and within your territory."

From John Johnson, Indian agent.

" *Fort Wayne, August 7, 1810.*

"Since writing you on the 25th ultimo, about one hundred men of the Saukies have returned from the British agent, who supplied them liberally with every thing they stood in want of. The party received 47 rifles, and a number of fusils, with plenty of powder and lead. This is sending firebrands into the Mississippi country, inasmuch as it will draw numbers of our Indians to the British side, in the hope of being treated with the same liberality."

From Governor W. H. Harrison.

" *Vincennes, February 6, 1811.*

"If the intentions of the British government are pacific, the Indian department of Upper Canada have not been made acquainted with them, for they have very lately said every thing to the Indians who have visited them to excite them against us."

From John Johnson.

" *Fort Wayne, February 8, 1811.*

"\* \* \* \* \* has been at this place. The information derived from him is the same as I have been in possession of for several years, to wit: The intrigues of the British agents and partizans in creating an influence hostile to our people and government, within our territory."

From M. Irwin, Indian factor.

" *Chicago, May 13, 1811.*

"An assemblage of the Indians is to take place on a branch of the Illinois, by the influence of the Prophet; the result will be hostile in the event of a war with Great Britain."

From Governor W. H. Harrison.

" *Vincennes, September 17, 1811.*

"\* \* \* \* \* states that almost every Indian from the country above this had been, or were then gone to Mal-

den, on a visit to the British agent. We shall probably gain our destined point at the moment of their return. If then the British agents are really endeavoring to instigate the Indians to make war upon us, we shall be in their neighborhood at the very moment when the impressions which have been made against us are most active in the minds of the savages."

"\*\*\*\*\* succeeded in getting the chiefs together at Fort Wayne, though he found them all preparing to go to Malden. The result of the council discovered that the whole tribes (including the Weas and Eel rivers for they are all Miamies) were about equally divided in favor of the Prophet, and the United States. Lapousier the Wea chief, whom I before mentioned to you as being seduced by the Prophet, was repeatedly asked by \*\*\*\*\* what land it was that he was determined to defend with his blood ;—whether it was that which was ceded by the late treaty or not, but he would give no answer.

"\*\*\*\*\* reports that all the Indians of the Wabash have been, or now are, on a visit to the British agents at Malden. He has never known one fourth as many goods given to the Indians as they are now distributing. He examined the share of one man (not a chief and found that he had received an elegant rifle, 25 pounds of powder, 50 pounds of lead, 3 blankets, 5 trouds of cloth, 10 shirts and several other articles. He says every Indian is furnished with a gun (either rifle or fusil) and an abundance of ammunition. A trader of this country was lately in the king's stores at Malden, and was told that the quantity of goods for the Indian department, which had been sent out this year, exceeded that of common years by 20,000 pounds sterling. It is impossible to ascribe this profusion to any other motive than that of instigating the Indians to take up the tomahawk. It cannot be to secure their trade ; for all the peltry collected on the waters of the Wabash in one year, if sold in the London market, would not pay the freight of the goods which have been given to the Indians.



“ I am decidedly of opinion that the tendency of the the British measures is hostility to us.”

From Governor Willie Blount.

“ *Nashville, September 11, 1811.*

“ There is in this place a very noted chief of the Chickasaws, a man of truth, who wishes the President should be informed that there is a combination of the northern Indians, promoted by the English, to unite in falling on the frontier settlements, and are inviting the southern tribes to join them.”

From Governor Ninian Edwards.

*Cahokia, St. Clair county, Illinois Territory, April 24, 1812.*

“ The opinion of the celebrated British trader, Dixon, is, that in the event of a British war, all the Indians will be opposed to us, and he hopes to engage them in hostility by making peace between the Sioux and Chippewas, two very large nations, and getting them to declare war against us.”

Extract of a letter from his excellency Ninian Edwards, Governor of the Illinois territory to the secretary of war, dated

“ *Illinois Territory, January 25, 1812.*

“ Many of those Indians certainly contemplate joining the British. They are in the habit of visiting fort Malden annually; and as soon as they are prepared for their departure thither, they will (as I believe they have already declared) make inroads upon our settlements, as well to take scalps as to steal horses.”

Extract of a letter from Gen. William Clark, to the secretary of war dated

“ *St. Louis, February 13, 1812.*

“ If possession was taken of a point about the mouth of Fox river, where it enters into Green Bay, communications would be cut off between the traders and Indians on the Mississippi below Prairie du Chien, and the British trading houses on the lakes; smuggling might be prevented through that channel. Mr. Dixon, and those British, who are also agents, who have smuggled an immense quantity of goods through that channel

this year, and now in the Mississippi, could be caught on their return as they go out in the spring. This description of people grasp at every means in their power to wean the affections of the Indians from any thing that is American; having it in their power to make large presents to the Indians, the most of whom are to be bought; and by this means create great difficulty wherever they have any influence."

Extracts of a letter from John Shaw, Esq. Indian agent,  
to the secretary of war, dated

*"Fort Wayne, 3d mo. 10th, 1812.*

"It appears that the hostile disposition of the Indians confederated under the Shawanee Prophet, that so recently manifested itself in the conflict on the Wabash, is not changed. By every thing that I am able to learn, they are secretly plotting to strike an effective blow on our frontier; and it is said that they have been this winter invited by the British agent at Fort Malden, to pay him a visit; and I believe it is a fact that a considerable number of them have recently gone to that place with a view of procuring ammunition."

"A speech is also said to have been recently sent to Winnemac, a Pottawattemie chief, from Elliot, the British agent; but to what purpose, I have not been able to learn."

Extracts of a letter from John Shaw, Esq. Indian agent,  
to the secretary of war, dated

*"Fort Wayne, 3d mo. 1st, 1812.*

"It has been reported by a Miami Indian, who was hunting a few miles from this, that twenty four Indians of the Shawanee prophet's band, composed of Winebagoes, Kickapoos and Shawanees, passed his camp about six days ago, on their way to Sandusky, for a quantity of powder and lead, which they said was to be sent them from Canada."

"It also appears from the statements of a gentleman from Detroit, that the Morpock, (*L'attawattamie chief*) with a small party of Indians, has been for a considerable time past, encamped on the river Raisin, and constantly getting provisions from the British at Fort Mal-



den, and that it is firmly believed that he is waiting for a signal from Elliot, the British agent to commence hostilities on our frontier."

Extracts of a letter from Robert Forsyth, Esq. to Capt. Rhea commanding at Fort Wayne, dated

*"Fort Wayne, March 10th, 1812.*

"I have no doubt but those Indians that passed this post some time ago, are a deputation sent to the British garrison for the purpose of procuring ammunition."

"The Morpock, a Pattawattemie chief, has wintered at river Huron, about twenty miles from the garrison of Amherstburg, and has drawn provisions and ammunition during the whole winter. He has about twenty men with him."

Extract of a letter from B. F. Stickney, Esq. Indian agent, to his excellency W. H. Harrison, dated

*"Fort Wayne, April 18, 1812.*

"Mr. Shaw has informed you that twenty four of the Prophet's band had passed this place in the last of February, for Fort Malden, to receive ammunition, which was promised to be ready for them. They returned on the 4th instant, with as much gun powder, lead and new fusils as they could carry."

(D)

*N. W. establishment, on Lake Leech, Feb. 1806.*

SIR—As a proprietor of the N. W. company, and director of the Zond du Lac department, I conceive it my duty as an officer of the United States, (in whose territory you are) to address you solely on the subject of the many houses under your instructions. As a member of the greatest commercial nation in the world, and a company long renowned for their extent of connections and greatness of views, you cannot be ignorant of the rigor of the laws of the duties of imports of a foreign power.

Mr. Jay's treaty, it is true, gave the right of trade with the savages to British subjects in the United States territories, but by no means exempted them from paying the duties, obtaining licenses, and subscribing unto all the rules and restrictions of our laws. I find your establishments at every suitable place along the whole extent of the south side of Lake Superior to its head, from thence to the source of the Mississippi, and down Red River, and even extending to the centre of our newly acquired territory of Louisiana, in which it will probably yet become a question between the two governments, if our treaties will authorise the British subjects to enter into the Indian trade on the same footing; as in the other parts of our frontiers; this not having been an integral part of the United States, at the time of said treaty. Our traders to the south, on the Lower Mississippi, complain to our government, with justice, that the members of the N. W. company, encircle them on the frontiers of our N. W. territory, and trade with the savages upon superior terms, to what they can afford, who pay the duties of their goods imported from Europe, and subscribe to the regulations prescribed by law.

These representations have at length attracted the



attention of our government to the object in question, and with an intention to do themselves as well as citizens justice, they the last year took some steps to ascertain the facts, and make provision against the growing evil. With this, some geographical, and also local objects in view was I dispatched with discretionary orders, with a party of troops to the source of the Mississippi. I have found, sir, your commerce and establishments, extended beyond our most exaggerated ideas, and in addition to the injury done our revenue, by the evasion of the duties, other acts which are more particularly injurious to the *honor* and *dignity* of our government. The transactions alluded to, are the presenting *medals* of his Britannic majesty, and *flags* of the said government, to the chiefs and warriors resident in the territory of the United States. If political subjects are strictly prohibited to our traders, what would be the ideas of the executive to see foreigners making chiefs, and distributing flags, the standard of an European power. The savages being accustomed to look on that standard, which had been the only prevailing one for years, as that which alone has authority in the country, it would not be in the least astonishing to see them revolt from the United States, limited subjection which is claimed over them by the American government, and thereby be the cause of their receiving a chastisement : although necessary, yet unfortunate as they have been led astray by the policy of the traders of your country.

I must likewise observe, sir, that your establishments, if properly known, would be looked on with an eye of dissatisfaction by our government, for another reason, viz. there being so many furnished posts in case of a rupture between the two powers, the English government would not fail to make use of those as places of deposit of arms, ammunition, &c. to be distributed to the savages who joined their arms ; to the great annoyance of our territory, and the loss of the lives of many of our citizens. Your flags, sir, when hoisted in inclosed works, are in direct contradiction of the laws of nations, and their practice in like cases, which only ad-

mits of foreign flags being expanded on board of vessels, and at the residence of Ambassadors, or consuls. I am not ignorant of the necessity of your being in such a position as to protect you from the sallies of the drunken savages, or the more deliberate plans of the intended plunderer; and under those considerations, have I considered your stockades.

You, and the company of which you are a member, must be conscious from the foregoing statement that strict justice would demand, and I assure you that the law directs, under similar circumstances, a total confiscation of your property, personal imprisonment and fines. But having discretionary instructions and no reason to think the above conduct was dictated through ill will or disrespect to our government, and conceiving it in some degree departing from the character of an officer, to embrace the first opportunity of executing those laws, I am willing to sacrifice my prospect of private advantage, conscious that the government look not to interest, but its *dignity* in the transaction, I have therefore to request of you, assurances on the following heads, which setting aside the chicanery of law, as a gentleman, you will strictly adhere to: viz.—

That you will make representations to your agents, at your head quarters, on Lake Superior, of the quantity of goods wanted the ensuing spring, for your establishments in the territory of the United States, in time sufficient, or as early as possible, for them to enter them at the C. H. of Michilimackinac, and obtain a clearance and license to trade in due form.

2d. That you will give immediate instructions to all your posts in said territory, under your direction, at no time and on no pretence whatever to hoist, or suffer to be hoisted, the English flag. If you conceive a flag necessary, you may make use of that of the United States, which is the only one which can be admitted.

3d. That you will on no further occasion, present a flag or medal to an Indian: hold councils with them on political subjects, or others foreign from that of trade: but on being applied to on those heads, refer them to the



American agents, informing them that they are the only persons authorised to hold councils of a political nature with them.

There are many other subjects, such as the distribution of liquor, &c. which would be too lengthy to be treated of in detail. But the company will do well to furnish themselves with our laws, regulating the commerce with the savages, and regulate themselves in our territories accordingly. I embrace this opportunity, to acknowledge myself and command under singular obligations to yourselves and agents, for the assistance which you have rendered us, and the polite treatment with which I have been honored. With sentiments of high respect, for the establishment and yourself.

I am, sir, Your obedient servant,

Z. M. PIKE.

*Hugh M'Gillis, Esq.*

Proprietor and agent of the N. W. company,  
established at Zond Du Lac.

*Leech Lake, 15th February, 1806.*

SIR—Your address presented on the 6th inst. has attracted my most serious consideration to the several objects of duties on importations, of presents made to, and our consultations with Indians; of enclosing our stores and dwelling houses, and finally of the custom obtaining to hoist the British flag on the territory belonging to the United States of America. I shall at as early a period as possible present the agents of the N. W. Company with your representations regarding the paying duties on the importation of goods to be sent to our establishments within the bounds of the territory of the United States, as also their being entered at the custom house of Michilimackinac. but I beg to be allowed to present for consideration, that the major part of the goods necessary to be sent to the said establishments for the trade of the ensuing winter, are now actually in our stores at Kamanitiguia, our head quarters on Lake Superior, and that it would cause us vast expence and trouble to be obliged to convey those goods back to Michilimackinac to be entered at the custom house office; we therefore

pray that the word of gentlemen with regard to the quantity and quality of the said goods to be sent to said establishment, may be considered as equivalent to the certainty of a custom house register. Our intention has never been to injure your traders, paying the duties established by law. We hope those representations to your government respecting our concerns with the Indians, may have been dictated with truth, and not exaggerated by envy to prejudice our interests, and to throw a stain on our character, which may require time to efface from the minds of a people, to whom we must ever consider ourselves indebted for the lenity of procedure, of which the present is so notable a testimony. The enclosures to protect our stores and dwelling houses from the insults and barbarity of savage rudeness, have been erected for the security of my property and person in a country, till now, exposed to the wild will of the frantic Indians : we never formed the smallest idea that the said enclosures might ever be useful in the juncture of a rupture between the two powers, nor do we now conceive that such poor shifts will ever be employed by the British government, in a country overshadowed with wood, so adequate to every purpose. Forts might in a short period of time be built far superior to any stockades we may have occasion to erect.

We were not conscious, sir, of the error I acknowledge we have been guilty to commit, by exhibiting to view on your territory any standard of Great Britain. I will pledge myself to your government, that I will use my utmost endeavours, as soon as possible, to prevent the future display of a British flag, or the presenting of medals, or the exhibiting to public view, any other mark of European power, throughout the extent of territory known to belong to the dominion of the United States. The custom has long been established and we innocently and inoffensively, as we imagined, have conformed to it till the present day.

Be persuaded that on no consideration, shall any Indian be entertained on political subjects, or on any affairs foreign to our trade ; and reference shall be made



to the American agents, should any application be made worthy such reference ; and be assured that we as a commercial company must find it ever our interest to interfere as little as possible with affairs of government in the course of trade ; ignorant as we are in this rude and distant country of the political views of nations.

We are convinced that the inestimable advantages arising from the endeavours of your government, to establish a more peaceful course of trade in this part of the territory belonging to the United States, are not acquired through the mere liberality of a nation, and are ready to contribute to the expence necessarily attending them. We are not averse to pay the common duties established by law, and will ever be ready to conform ourselves to all the rules and regulations of trade that may be established according to common justice.

I beg to be allowed to say, that we have reason to hope, that every measure will be adopted to secure and facilitate the trade with the Indians ; and these hopes seem to be confirmed beyond the smallest idea of doubt, when we see a man sent among us, who instead of private considerations to pecuniary views, prefers the honor, dignity and lenity of his government, and whose transactions are in every respect so conformable to equity. When we behold an armed force ready to protect or chastise as necessity or policy may direct, we know not how to express our gratitude to that people whose only view seems to be to promote the happiness of all, the savages that rove over the wild confines of their domain not excepted.

It is to you, sir, we feel ourselves most greatly indebted, whose claim to honor, esteem and respect, will ever be held in high estimation by myself and associates. The danger and hardships by your fortitude vanquished, and by your perseverance overcome, are signal, and will ever be preserved in the annals of the N. W. Company. Were it solely from the considerations of those who have exposed their lives in a long and perilous march through a country, where they had every distress to suffer, and many dangers to expect (and this with a

view to establish peace in a savage country,) we should think ourselves under the most strict obligation to assist them; but we know we are in a country where hospitality and gratitude are to be considered above every other virtue, and therefore have offered for their relief what our poor means can allow: and, sir, permit me to embrace the opportunity, to testify that I feel myself highly honored by your acceptance of such accommodations as my humble roof could afford.

With great consideration and high respect for the government of the United States, allow me to express my esteem and regard for you.

I am, sir,

Your obedient humble servant,  
(Signed)

H. M'GILLIS;  
Of N. W. Company.

*Lieut. Pike,*

1st. Regt. United States infantry.

#### EXTRACTS FROM OBSERVATIONS

*On the trade, views, and policy of the North West Company, and the national objects connected with their commerce, as it interests the Government of the United States.*

The fur trade in Canada, has always been considered as an object of the first importance to that colony; and has been cherished by the respective governors of that province, by every regulation in their power, under both the French and English administrations. The great and almost unlimited influence the traders of that country had acquired over the savages, was severely felt, and will long be remembered by the citizens on our frontiers. Every attention was paid by the cabinet of St. James, in our treaty with Great Britain, to secure to their subjects, (the Canadians) the privilege of the Indian trade within our territories, and with what judgment they have improved the advantages obtained, by the mother country, time will soon unfold.

In the year 1766, the trade was first extended from Michilimackinac, to the north west, by a few desperate adventurers, whose mode of life on the voyage, and



short residence in civilized society, obtained for them; the appellation of "Courcours des Bois." From those trifling beginnings, arose the present north west company, who notwithstanding the repeated attacks made on their trade, have withstood every shock, and are now, by the coalition of the late X. Y. company, established on so firm a basis, as to bid defiance to every opposition; which can be made by private individuals.

They, by a late purchase of the king's posts in Canada, extend their line of trade from Hudson's Bay, to the St. Lawrence, up that river on both sides, to the Lakes—from thence to the head of Lake Superior, at which place the north west company have their head quarters; from thence to the source of Red river, and on all its tributary streams, through the country to the Missouri—through the waters of Lake Winipie, to the Saskashawin, on that river to its source—up Elk river to the lake of the Hills—up Peace river to the Rocky mountains—from the lake of the Hills, up Slave river to Slave Lake, and this year have dispatched a Mr. Mackenzie on a voyage of trade and discovery down Mackenzie's river, to the north sea; and also a Mr. M'Coy, to cross the Rocky mountains, and proceed to the western ocean with the same objects in view. They have had a gentleman by the name of Thompson, making a geographical survey of the north west part of the continent—who, for three years, with an astonishing spirit of enterprise and perseverance, passed over all that extensive and unknown country. His establishment, although not splendid, (the mode of travelling not admitting it) was such, as to admit of the most unlimited expences in every thing necessary to facilitate his enquiries; and he is now engaged in digesting the important results of his enterprise. I find from the observations and suggestions of Mr. Thompson, that when at the source of the Mississippi, it was his opinion the line of limits between the United States and Great Britain, must run such a course, from the head of the lake of the woods, as to touch the source of the Mississippi; and this I discovered to be the opinion of the north west company, whom, we may

suppose, or reasonably conclude, speak the language held forth by their government. The admission of this pretension, will throw out of our territory all the upper part of Red river, and nearly two fifths of the territory of Louisiana. Whereas, if the line be run due west from the head of the lake of the Woods, it will cross Red river nearly at the entrance of Reed river, and it is conjectured strike the western ocean at Birch Bay, in Queen Charlotte Sound. Those differences of opinion, it is presumed, might be easily adjusted between the two governments, at the present day, but it is believed that delays by unfolding the true value of the country, may produce difficulties, which do not at present exist. The north west company, have made establishments at several places on the south side of Lake Superior, and on the head waters of the rivers Sauteaux and St. Croix, which discharge themselves into the Mississippi. The Fond du Lac department brings in annually forty canoes, which by a calculation made by a gentleman of veracity and information, who has been eighteen years in the Indian trade, and in the habit of importing goods by Michilimackinac, it appears that the annual amount of duties would be about thirteen thousand dollars. The Lower Red River (which I conceive to be within our territory) would yield about half that sum, viz. 6,500, and the Hudson's bay company's servants, who import, by the way of Lake Winipie, six thousand five hundred dollars more.

Thus is the United States defrauded annually, of about twenty six thousand dollars. From my observations, and information, I think it will be an easy matter to prevent the smuggling of the Fond du Lac department. By establishing a post with a garrison of one hundred men, and an office of the customs, near the mouth of the river St. Louis, where all goods of the Fond du Lac department must enter; this is at present the distributing point, where the company have an establishment, and the goods on being received from Kamanitiguia, are embarked for their different destinations. That point also commands the communication with Lake de Sable,



Leech Lake, Red Lake, &c. &c. &c. I am also of opinion, the goods for Red River (if it is within our boundary) would enter here, in preference to being exposed to seizure. It is worthy of remark, that the charter of the Hudson's Bay company extends to all its waters, and if the British government conceive they had authority to make such a grant, they certainly would claim the country therein specified, which would extend far south of the west line, from the head of the lake of the Woods.

The north west company, were about to push their trade down the Mississippi, until they would have met the traders of Michilimackinac; but I gave them to understand, that it could not be admitted.

Z. M. PIKE, 1st Lt. 1st U. S. Regt. Infy.

*Description of the N. W. Company's Fort at Sandy Lake.*

The Fort at Sandy Lake is situated on the south side of the lake, near the E. end, and is a stockade of 100 feet square, with Bastions at the S. E. and N. W. angles, pierced for small arms.

The pickets are squared on the outside, round within of about one foot diameter, and are 13 feet above ground.

There are three gates: the principal one fronts the lake on the N. and is 10 feet by 9, the one on the W. 6 feet by 4, the one on the E. 6 feet by 5. As you enter by the main gate you have on the left a building of one story 20 feet square, the residence of the superintendent. Opposite to this house, on the left of the E. gate is a house 25 feet by 15, the quarters of the men. On entering the W. gate you find the store house on the right, 30 feet by 20, and, on your left, a building 40 feet by 20, which contains rooms for clerks, a work-shop, and provision store.

On the W. and N. W. is an enclosure of about 4 acres picketed in; in which last year they raised 400 bushels of Irish potatoes, cultivating no other vegetable. In this enclosure is a very ingeniously constructed vault, to contain the potatoes, but which likewise has secret apartments, to conceal liquors, dry goods, &c.

*Description of the N. W. Company's Fort at Leech Lake,  
in February, 1806.*

The fort is situated on the W. side of the lake, in 47 deg. 16' 23'' N. lat. It is built near the shore, on the declivity of a rising ground, having an enclosed garden of about 5 acres on the N. W. It is a square stockade of 150 feet, the pickets being 16 feet in length, 3 feet under, and 13 above the ground, and are bound together by horizontal bars, each 10 feet long. Pickets of 10 feet are likewise drove into the ground, on the inside of the work, opposite the apertures between the large pickets. At the W. and E. angles are square bastions pierced for fire arms.

The main building in the rear, fronting the lake, is 60 feet by 25, 1 1-2 story high; the W. end of which is occupied by the director of the Fond du Lac department. He has a hall 18 feet square, bed room and kitchen, with an office. The centre is a trading shop of 12 1-2 feet square, with a bed room in the rear of the same dimensions. The E. end is a large store 25 feet by 20, under which there is an ice house well filled. The loft extends over the whole building, and contains bales of goods, packs of peltries; also chests with 500 bushels of wild rice. Besides the ice house there are cellars under all the other parts of the building. The doors and window shutters are musket proof.

On the W. side is a range of buildings 54 by 18 feet, fronting the parade, the N. end of which is a cooper's shop 13 by 14, with a cellar; joining to which is a room called the Indian hall (expressly for the reception of Indians, and in which the chiefs who met me in council were entertained.) In this hall are two closed bunks for interpreters: its dimensions are 22 feet by 18. Adjoining to this is a room 18 feet square, for the clerks (in which my small party were quartered.) Under both of the latter rooms are cellars.

On the E. side is a range of buildings 50 feet by 18, which has one room 20 feet and one of 15 feet, for quarters for the men; also a blacksmith shop of 15 feet, which is occupied by an excellent workman. On the



left of the main gate, fronting the river, is a flag staff 50 feet in height.

They intended building a small block house over the main gate, fronting the lake, to place a small piece of artillery in. There are, likewise, gates on the N. and E. flanks of about 10 feet by 8.

*The price of goods in exchange with the Indians of this quarter, viz.*

		<i>Dollars.</i>	
Blankets, 3 and 2 1-2 point each	- plus 4	8	
Ditto 2 ditto,	- - - 2	4	
Ditto 1 1-2 ditto,	- - - 1	2	
Blue strouds, per fathom,	- - - 4	8	
Scarlet cloth, 8-6	- - - 6	12	
Worsted binding, per piece,	- - - 4	8	
Vermillion, per pound,	- - - 4	8	
Molten, blue and white, per fathom,	- - - 2	4	
Gunpowder, per half pint,	- - - 1	2	
Balls, 30 per	- - - 1	2	
Shot of all sorts, per handful,	- - - 1	2	
Tobacco, per carrot,	- - - 4	8	
Twist tobacco, per fathom,	- - - 1	2	
Beaver traps, each,	- - - 4	8	
Half axes,	- - - 2	4	
Castites,	- - - 1	2	
N. W. Guns, each,	- - - 10	20	
Knives,	- - - 1	2	

Wampum and silver works, there is no regulation, as well as Rum; but the real price of goods here in exchange for Peltry, is about two hundred and fifty per cent on the prime cost.

(D.)

*To the Senate and House of Representatives,*

I lay before Congress copies of certain documents which remain in the department of state. They prove that at a recent period, whilst the United States, notwithstanding the wrongs sustained by them, ceased not to observe the laws of peace and neutrality towards Great Britain; and in the midst of amicable professions and negociations on the part of the British government through her public minister here, a secret agent of that government was employed in certain states, more especially at the seat of government (Boston) in Massachusetts, in fomenting disaffection to the constituted authorities of the nation, and intrigues with the disaffected; for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws; and eventually, in concert with a British force, of destroying the Union and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connection with Great Britain.

In addition to the effect of which the discovery of such a procedure ought to have on the public councils, it will not fail to render more dear to the hearts of all good citizens that happy union of these states, which, under divine Providence, is the guarantee of their liberties, their safety, their tranquility, and their prosperity.

JAMES MADISON.

*March 9th, 1812.**Mr. Henry to Mr. Monroe.*

Philadelphia, Feb. 20, 1812.

*To James Monroe, Esq.**Secretary of State, &c.*

SIR—Much observation and experience have convinced me, that the injuries and insults with which the United States have been so long and so frequently visited, and which cause their present embarrassment, have been owing to an opinion entertained by foreign states, “that in any measure tending to wound their pride, or provoke their hostility, the government of this country could never induce a great majority of its citizens to concur”—And as many of the evils which flow from the influence



of this opinion on the policy of foreign nations, may be removed by an act that can produce UNANIMITY AMONG PARTIES IN AMERICA, I voluntarily tender to you, sir, such means, as I possess, towards promoting so desirable and important an object; which if accomplished cannot fail to extinguish, perhaps forever, those expectations abroad, which may protract indefinitely an accommodation of existing differences, and check the progress of industry and prosperity in this rising empire.

I have the honor to transmit to you the documents and correspondence relating to an important mission in which I was employed by sir James Craig, the late governor general of the British provinces, in North America, in the winter of the year 1809.

The publication of these papers will demonstrate a fact not less valuable than the good already proposed; it will prove that no reliance ought to be placed on the professions of good faith of an administration, which by a series of disastrous events, has fallen into such hands as a Castlereagh, a Wellesley or a Liverpool; I should rather say into the hands of the stupid subalterns, to whom the pleasures and the indolence of those ministers have consigned it.

In contributing to the good of the United States by an exposition which cannot (I think) fail to solve and melt all division and disunion among its citizens, I flatter myself with the fond expectation that when it is made public in England it will add one great motive to the many that already exist to induce that nation to withdraw its confidence from *men whose political career is a fruitful source of injury and embarrassment in America; of injustice and misery in Ireland; or distress and apprehension in England: and contempt every where.* In making this communication to you, sir, I deem it incumbent on me distinctly and unequivocally to state, that I adopt no party views; that I have not changed any of my political opinions: that I neither seek nor desire the patronage nor countenance of any government nor of any party; and that in addition to the motives already expressed, I am influenced by a just resentment of the *perfidy and dishonor of those who first violated the con-*

*ditions upon which I received their confidence ; who have injured me and disappointed the expectations of my friends, and left me no choice but between a degrading acquiescence in injustice, and a retaliation which is necessary to secure to me my own respect.*

This wound will be felt where it is merited ; and if sir JAMES CRAIG still lives, his share of the pain will excite no sympathy among those who are at all in the secret of our connection.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant, &c. &c.

(Signed)

J. HENRY.

No. I.

*Mr. Ryland, secretary, to sir James Craig, late Governor General of the British provinces in North America, to Mr. Henry.*

APPLICATION TO UNDERTAKE THE MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES.

[Most secret and confidential.]

Quebec, 26th January, 1809.

My dear sir,—The extraordinary situation of things at this time in the neighboring states has suggested to the Governor in Chief, the idea of employing you on a secret and confidential mission to Boston, provided an arrangement can be made to meet the important end in view, without throwing an absolute obstacle in the way of your professional pursuits. *The information and political observations heretofore received from you were transmitted by his excellency to the secretary of state, who has expressed his particular approbation of them, and there is no doubt that your able execution of such a mission as I have above suggested would give you a claim not only on the governor general but on his majesty's ministers which might eventually contribute to your advantage.* You will have the goodness therefore, to acquaint me for his excellency's information whether you could make it convenient to engage in a mission of this nature, and what pecuniary assistance would be requisite to enable you to undertake it without injury to yourself.



At present it is only necessary for me to add, that the governor would furnish you with a cypher for carrying on your correspondence, and that in case the leading party in one of the states wished to open a communication with this government, their views might be communicated through you.

I am, with great truth and regard, my dear sir, your most faithful, humble servant.

(Signed)

HERMAN W. RYLAND.

*John Henry, Esq.*

## No. II.

*General instructions from sir J. H. Craig to Mr. Henry respecting his secret mission.*

His Excellency the governor in chief's instructions to Mr. Henry, February 1809.

[Most secret and confidential.]

*Quebec, 6th February, 1809.*

SIR—As you have so readily undertaken the service which I have suggested to you as being likely to be attended with much benefit to the public interests, I am to request that with your earliest conveniency you will proceed to Boston.

The principal object that I recommend to your attention is the endeavor to obtain the most accurate information of the true state of affairs in that part of the union, which, from its wealth, the number of its inhabitants, and the known intelligence and ability of several of its leading men must naturally possess a very considerable influence over, and will indeed probably lead the other eastern states of America in the part they may take at this important crisis.

I shall not pretend to point out to you the mode by which you will be most likely to obtain this important information; your own judgement and the connections which you may have in the town must be your guide.

I think it however necessary to put you on your guard against the sanguineness of an aspiring party; the federalists as I understand have at all times discovered a leaning to this disposition, and their being under its particular influence at this moment, is the more to be expected from their having no ill founded ground for their

hopes of being *nearer the attainment of their object* than they have been for some years past.

In the general terms which I have made use of in describing the object which I recommend to your attention ; it is scarcely necessary that I should observe, I include the state of the public opinion, both with regard to their internal politics and to the probability of a war with England ; the comparative strength of the two great parties into which the country is divided, and the views and designs of that which may ultimately prevail.

It has been supposed that if the federalists of the eastern states should be successful in obtaining that decided influence, which may enable them to direct the public opinion, it is not improbable, that rather than submit to a continuance of the difficulties and distress to which they are now subject, they will exert that influence to bring about a separation from the general union. The earliest information on this subject may be of great consequence to our government, as it may also be, that it should be informed *how far in such an event they would look to England for assistance or be disposed to enter into a connection with us.*

Although it would be highly inexpedient that you should in any manner appear as an avowed agent, yet if you could contrive to obtain an intimacy with any of the leading party, it may not be improper that you should insinuate, though with great caution, that if *they should wish to enter into any communication with our government through me you are authorised to recieve any such, and will safely transmit it to me,* and as it may not be impossible that they should require some document by which they may be assured, that you are really in the situation in which you represent yourself, I enclose a credential to be produced in that view ; but I most particularly enjoin and direct, you do not make use of this paper, unless a desire to that purpose should be expressed, and *unless you see good ground for expecting that the doing so may lead to a more confidential communication,* than you can otherwise look for.

In passing through the state of Vermont, you will of course exert your endeavors to procure all the infor-



mation that the short stay you will probably make there will admit of. You will use your own discretion as to delaying your journey, with this view, more or less, in proportion to your prospects of obtaining any information of consequence.

I request to hear from you as frequently as possible, and as letters directed to me might excite suspicion, it may be as well that you put them under cover to Mr. ———, and as even the addressing letters always to the same person might attract notice, I recommend your sometimes addressing your packet to the chief Justice here, or occasionally, though seldom, to Mr. Ryland, but never with the addition of his official description.

I am sir, your most obedient humble servant.

(Signed,)

J. H. CRAIG.

*John Henry, Esq.*

### No. III.

CREDENTIAL FROM SIR JAMES CRAIG TO MR. HENRY,  
6TH FEB. 1809.

(Copy)

[seal.]

The bearer Mr. John Henry, is employed by me, and full confidence may be placed in him for any communication which any person may wish to make to me *in the business committed to him*. In faith of which I have given him this under my hand and seal at Quebec, the 6th of February, 1809.

Signed,

J. H. CRAIG.

### No. IV.

*Mr. Henry's letters to sir James Craig, written whilst employed on a mission to Boston.*

*Answer to the letter of Mr. Secretary Ryland, proposing the mission, &c.*

### No. I.

*Montreal, January 31, 1809.*

I have to acknowledge the favor of your letter of the 26th inst. written by the desire of his excellency the Gov. in chief; and hasten to express, through you, to his excellency my readiness to comply with his wishes.

I need not add how very flattering it is to receive from his excellency the assurance of the approbation of

his majesty's secretary of state for the very humble services that I may have rendered.

If the nature of the services in which I am to be engaged will require no other disbursements than for my individual expences, I do not apprehend that these can exceed my private resources.

I shall be ready to take my departure before my instructions can be made out.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. H'y.

*H. W. Ryland, esq. sec. &c.*

No. 2.

*To his Excellency the Governor General, &c. in answer to his letter of instructions.*

*Montreal, February 10, 1809.*

SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of instructions, the letter of credence, and the cypher for carrying on my correspondence. I have bestowed much pains upon the cypher, and am notwithstanding this, deficient in some points which might enable me to understand it clearly. I have compared the example with my own exemplification of the cypher, and find a difference in the results; and as the present moment seems favorable to the interference of his majesty's government in the measures pursued by the federal party in the northern states, and more especially as the assembly of Massachusetts is now in session, I think it better to set forward immediately, than wait for any further explanation of the means of carrying on a secret correspondence; which the frequency of safe private conveyance to Canada will render almost wholly unnecessary. Should it however be necessary at any time, I take leave to suggest that the index alone furnishes a very safe and simple mode. In it there is a number for every letter in the alphabet, and particular numbers for particular phrases; so that when I do not find in the index the particular word I want, can spell it with the figures which stand opposite to the letters. For example if I want to say that "troops are at Albany," I find under the letter "T" that number 15 stands for 'troops' and a number 125 for "Albany."



The intervening words "are at" I supply by figures corresponding with the letters in these words.

It will be necessary to provide against accident by addressing the letters to Mr. ———, of Montreal, with a small mark on the corner of the envelope which he will understand. When he receives it, he will then address the inclosure to your excellency and send it from Montreal by mail. I will be careful not to address your excellency in the body of the letters, nor sign my name to any of them.—They will be merely designated by the initials A. B.

If this mode should in any respect appear exceptionable, your excellency will have the goodness to order a more particular explanation of the card. It would reach me in safety addressed to ———, Boston.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. H'y.

No. 3.

*Burlington, Vermont, Feb. 14, 1809.*

Sir—I have remained here two days in order fully to ascertain the progress of the arrangements heretofore made, for organizing an efficient opposition to the general government, as well as to become acquainted with the opinions of the leading people, relative to the measures of that party which has the ascendancy in the national councils.

On the subject of the embargo laws there seems but one opinion: namely, that they are unnecessary, oppressive and unconstitutional. It must also be observed that the execution of them is so invidious as to attract towards the officers of government the enmity of the people, which is of course transferrable to the government itself; so that in case the state of Massachusetts should take any bold step towards resisting the execution of these laws, it is highly probable that it may calculate upon the hearty co-operation of the people of Vermont.

I learn that the governor of this state is now visiting the towns in the northern section of it; and makes no secret determination, as commander in chief of the militia, to refuse obedience to any command from the gen-

eral government which can tend to interrupt the good understanding that prevails between the citizens of Vermont and his majesty's subjects in Canada. It is further intimated, that in case of a war, he will use his influence to preserve the state *neutral*, and resist with all the force he can command, any attempt to make it a party. I need not add, that if these resolutions are carried into effect, the state of Vermont may be considered as an ally of Great Britain.

To what extent the sentiments which prevail in this quarter exist in the neighboring states, or even in the eastern section of this state, I am not able to conjecture. I only can say, with certainty, that the leading men of the federal party act in concert; and, therefore infer, that a common sentiment pervades the whole body throughout New England.

I have seen a letter from a gentleman now at Washington to his correspondent in this place; and as its contents may serve to throw some light on passing events there, I shall send either the original or a copy with this dispatch. The writer of the letter is a man of character and veracity; and whether competent or not to form correct opinions himself, is probably within the reach of all the knowledge that can be obtained by the party to which he belongs. It appears by his statement that there is a very formidable majority in congress on the side of the administration, notwithstanding which there is every reason to hope, that the northern states in their distinct capacity will unite and resist by force a war with Great Britain. In what mode this resistance will first shew itself, is probably not yet determined upon; and may in some measure depend upon the reliance that the leading men may place upon assurances of support from his majesty's representative in Canada; and as I shall be on the spot to tender this whenever the moment arrives that it can be done with effect; there is no doubt that all their measures may be made subordinate to the intentions of his majesty's government. Great pains are taken by the men of talents and intelligence to confirm the fears of the common people, as to the concurrence of the southern democrats in the pro-



jects of France ; and every thing tends to encourage the belief, that the dissolution of the confederacy will be accelerated by that spirit which now actuates both political parties.

I am &c.

A. B.

No. 4.

*Windsor, Vermont, Feb. 10, 1809.*

Sir—My last (No. 3.) was written at Burlington, the principal town in the northern part of the state of Vermont. I am now at the principal town in the eastern section.

The fallacy of men's opinions when they act under the influence of sensibility, and are strongly excited by those hopes which always animate a rising party, lead me to doubt the correctness of the opinions which I received in the northern section of this state : which, from its contiguity to Canada and necessary intercourse with Montreal, has a stronger interest in promoting a good understanding with his majesty's government. Therefore since my departure from Burlington, I have sought every favorable occasion of conversing with the democrats on the probable result of the policy adopted by the general government. The difference of opinion is thus expressed.

The federal party declare, that in the event of a war, the state of Vermont will treat separately for itself with Great-Britain ; and support to the utmost the stipulations in which it may enter without any regard to the policy of the general government. The democrats on the other hand assert, that, in such a case as that contemplated, the people would be nearly divided into equal numbers ; one of which would support the government if it could be done without involving the people in a civil war ; but at all events would risk every thing in preference to a coalition with Great Britain. This difference of opinion is not to be wholly ascribed to the prejudices of party. The people in the eastern section of Vermont are not operated upon by the same fears as those on the borders of the British colony. These are not dependent upon Montreal for the sale of their pro-

duce nor the supply of foreign commodities. They are not apprehensive of any serious dangers or inconvenience from a state of war, and although they admit that the Governor, council and three fourths of the representation in congress are of the federal party, yet they do not believe that the state would stand alone and resist the national government. They do not however deny that should the state of Vermont continue to be represented as at present, it would in all probability unite with the neighboring states, in any serious plan of resistance to a war, which it might seem expedient to adopt. This I think is the safer opinion for you to rely on ; if indeed reliance ought to be placed on any measure depending upon the will of the rabble, which is ever changing and must ever be marked with ignorance, caprice and inconstancy. As the crisis approaches, the difficulty of deciding upon an hazardous alternative will increase ; and unfortunately there is not in Vermont any man of commanding talents, capable of attracting *general confidence* ; of infusing into the people his own spirit ; and amidst the confusion of conflicting opinions, dangers and commotions, competent to lead in the path of duty or safety. The Governor is an industrious, prudent man, and has more personal influence than any other ; but his abilities are not suited to the situations in which a civil war would place him.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. 5.

*Amherst, N. Hampshire, Feb. 23, 1809.*

Sir—A gentleman going direct to Canada, affords a safe and favorable opportunity of giving you some further account of my progress. I will not make use of the post office, when I can avoid it ; because private occasions supercede the necessity of writing in cypher ; and the contempt of decency and principle, which forms part of the morals of the subaltern officers of a democracy, would incline them to break a seal with the same indifference, that they break their words, when either curiosity or interest is to be indulged.

I have not had sufficient time nor evidence, to enable me to form any opinion for myself of the lengths to



which the federal party will carry opposition to the national government in the event of a war. Much may be inferred from the result of the election of governors which within two months will be made in the states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. From all I know and all I can learn of the general government, I am not apprehensive of an immediate war. The embargo is the favorite measure ; and it is probable that other means will be employed to excite England to commit some act of hostility, for the sole purpose of placing the responsibility of war on that country ; this I most particularly recommend to the consideration of ministers. The dread of opposition, and the loss of popularity, will certainly keep the ruling party at Washington inactive. They will risk any thing but the loss of power ; and they are well aware that their power would pass away with the first calamity which their measures might bring upon the common people (from whom that power emanates,) unless indeed they could find a sufficient excuse in the conduct of Great Britain. This impression cannot be too deeply felt by his majesty's ministers, nor too widely spread throughout the British nation. It will furnish a sure guide in every policy that may be adopted towards the United States.

I have the honor to be, &c.

A. B.

No. 6.

*Boston, March 5, 1809.*

Sir—I am favored with another opportunity of writing to you by a private conveyance ; and think it probable, at this season, that the frequency of these will render it unnecessary to write to you in cypher.

It does not yet appear necessary, that I should discover to any person the purpose of my visit to Boston : nor is it probable that I shall be compelled, for the sake of gaining more knowledge of the arrangements of the federal party of these states, to avow myself as a regular authorised agent of the British government even to those individuals who would feel equally bound with myself to preserve with the utmost inscrutability so important a secret from the public eye.

*I have sufficient means of information to enable me to judge of the proper period for offering the cooperation of Great Britain and opening a correspondence between the governor general of British America and those individuals who, from the part they take in the opposition to the national government, or the influence they may possess in any new order of things that may grow out of the present differences, should be qualified to act in behalf of the northern states. An apprehension of any such state of things, as is presupposed by these remarks begins to subside, since it has appeared, by the conduct of the general government, that it is seriously alarmed at the menacing attitude of the northern states. But although it is believed that there is no probability of an immediate war, yet no doubts are entertained, that Mr. Madison will fall upon some new expedients to bring about hostilities. What these may be can only be deduced from what appears to be practicable. A nonintercourse with England and France will probably supersede the embargo; which by opening with the rest of Europe a partial legitimate commerce, and affording strong temptations to that which is illegal, will expose the vessels to capture, detention and embarrassment; will justify the present policy; and produce a degree of irritation and resentment as will enable the government of this country to throw the whole blame and responsibility of war from its own shoulders upon those of the British ministry. If in this, the party attached to France should calculate with correctness, and the commerce of New England would greatly suffer, the merchants being injured and discouraged would not only acquiesce in the restrictive system, but even submit to war. On the other hand, should the small traffic permitted by a nonintercourse law be lucrative and uninterrupted, the people would be clamorous for more, and soon compel the government to restore the friendly relations between the two countries. While I offer my opinion upon this subject, I cannot express but a strong hope that if any terms should be proposed by either government, to which the other might think proper to ac-*



cede, that a principal motive to the adjustment of differences should be understood to arise from the amicable disposition of the eastern states, particularly of the state of Massachusetts. This, as it would increase the popularity of the friends of Great Britain, could not fail to promote her interests. If it could not be done formally and officially, nor in a correspondence between ministers, still perhaps the administration in the parliament of Great Britain might take that ground, and the suggestion would find its way into the papers both in England and America.

It cannot be too frequently repeated, that this country can only be governed and directed by the influence of opinion; as there is nothing permanent in its political institutions, nor are the populace under any circumstances to be relied on, when measures become inconvenient and burdensome. I will soon write again, and am, &c,

A. B.

No. 7.

*Boston, March 7, 1809.*

Sir—I have now ascertained, with as much accuracy as possible, the course intended to be pursued by the measures and politics of the administration of the general government.

I have already given a decided opinion that a declaration of war is not to be expected; but, contrary to all reasonable calculation, should the congress possess spirit and independence enough to place their popularity in jeopardy by so strong a measure, the legislature of Massachusetts will give the tone to the neighboring states; will declare itself permanent until a new election of members; invite a congress to be composed of delegates from the federal states, and erect a separate government for their common defence and common interest.

This congress would begin by abrogating the offensive laws, and adopting a plan for the maintenance of the power and authority thus assumed. They would by such an act be in a condition to make or receive proposals from Great Britain; and I should seize the first moment to open a correspondence with your excellency.

Scarce any other aid would be necessary, and perhaps none required, than a few vessels of war from the Halifax station, to protect the maritime towns from the little navy which is at the disposal of the national government. What permanent connexion between Great Britain and this section of the republic would grow out of a civil commotion such as might be expected, no person is prepared to describe; but it seems that a strict alliance must result of necessity. At present the opposition party confine their calculations merely to resistance; and I can assure you that at this moment they do not freely entertain the project of withdrawing the eastern states from the union, finding it a very particular topic; although a course of events, such as I have before mentioned, would inevitably produce an incurable alienation of the New England from the southern states. The truth is, the common people have so long regarded the constitution of the United States with complacency that they are now only disposed in this quarter to treat it like a truant mistress, whom they would for a time put away on a separate maintenance, but, without further and greater provocation, would not absolutely repudiate.

It will soon be known in what situation public affairs are to remain until the meeting of the new congress in May, at which time also this legislature will again assemble. The two months that intervene will be a period of much anxiety.

In all I have written, I have been careful not to make any impression analogous to the enthusiastic confidence entertained by the opposition, nor to the hopes and expectations that animate the friends of an alliance between the northern states and Great Britain. I have abstracted myself from all the sympathies these are calculated to inspire; because, notwithstanding that I feel the utmost confidence in the integrity of intention of the leading characters in this political drama, I cannot forget that they derive their power from a giddy inconstant multitude; who, unless in the instance under consideration they form an exception to all general rules and experience, will act inconsistently and absurdly.

I am, &c.

A. B.



## No. 8.

*Boston, March 10, 1809.*

Sir—In my letter No. 6, I took the liberty to express my opinion of the probable effect of the nonintercourse law intended to be enacted ; and of the mode by which Great Britain may defeat the real intention of the American government in passing it. But as the sort of impunity recommended might, in its application to every species of commerce that would be carried on, be deemed by Great Britain a greater evil than war itself, a middle course might easily be adopted, which would deprive France of the benefit resulting from an intercourse with America, without, in any great degree, irritating the maritime states.

The high price of all American produce in France furnishes a temptation which mercantile avarice will be unable to resist. The consequence is obvious. But if instead of condemning the vessels and cargoes which may be arrested in pursuing this prohibited commerce, they should be compelled to go into a British port, and there permitted to sell them, I think the friends of England in these states, would not utter a complaint. Indeed, I have no doubt that if, in the prosecution of a lawful voyage, the British cruisers should treat American ships in this manner, their owners would in the present state of the European markets, think themselves very fortunate, as it would save them the trouble and expence of landing them in a neutral port, and from thence reship them to England, now the best market in Europe for the produce of this country. The government of the United States would probably complain, and Bonaparte become peremptory ; but even that would only tend to render the opposition in the northern states more resolute and accelerate the dissolution of the confederacy. The generosity and justice of Great Britain would be extolled, and the commercial states exult in the success of individuals over a government inimical to commerce, and to whose measures they can no longer submit with patient acquiescence.

The elections are begun ; and I presume no vigilance or industry will be remitted to insure the success of the federal party. I am, &c. A. B.

P. S. Intelligence has reached Boston, that a nonintercourse law has actually passed, and that Martinique has surrendered to the British forces.

No. 9.

*Boston, March 13, 1809.*

Sir—You will perceive from the accounts that will reach you in the public papers both from Washington and Massachusetts, that the federalists of the northern states have succeeded in making the congress believe, that with such an opposition as they would make to the general government, a war must be confined to their own territory, and might be even too much for that government to sustain. The consequence is, that after all the parade and menaces with which the session commenced, it has been suffered to end without carrying into effect any of the plans of the administration, except the interdiction of commercial intercourse with England and France ; an event that was anticipated in my former letters.

Under what new circumstances the congress will meet in May, will depend on the state elections and the changes that may in the mean time take place in Europe. With regard to Great Britain, she can scarce mistake her true policy in relation to America. If peace be the first object, every act which can irritate the maritime states ought to be avoided ; because the prevailing disposition of these will generally be sufficient to keep the government from hazarding any hostile measure. If a war between America and France be a grand desideratum, something more must be done, an indulgent conciliatory policy must be adopted, which will leave the democrats without a pretext for hostilities ; and Bonaparte whose passions are too hot for delay, will probably compel this government to decide which of the two great belligerents is to be its enemy. To bring about a separation of the states, under distinct and independent governments, is an affair of more uncertainty ; and,



however desirable, cannot be effected but by a series of acts and long continued policy, tending to irritate the southern and conciliate the northern people. The former agricultural, the latter a commercial people. The mode of cheering and depressing either is too obvious to require illustration. This, I am aware, is an object of much interest in Great Britain, as it would forever secure the integrity of his majesty's possessions on the continent and make the two governments of whatever number the present confederacy might form into, as useful and as much subject to the influence of Great Britain as her colonies can be rendered. But it is an object only to be attained by slow and circumspect progression, and requires for its consummation more attention to the affairs which agitate and excite parties in this country, than Great Britain has yet bestowed upon it. An unpopular war—that it is a war produced by the hatred and prejudices of one party, but against the consent of the other party, can alone produce a sudden separation of any section of this country from the common head.

At all events, it cannot be necessary to the preservation of peace, that Great Britain should make any great concession at the present moment; more especially as the more important changes that occur in Europe might render it convenient for her to adhere to any stipulation in favor of neutral maritime nations.

Although the nonintercourse law affords but a partial relief to the people of this country from the evils of that entire suspension of commerce to which they have reluctantly submitted for some time past, I lament the repeal of the embargo; because it was calculated to accelerate the progress of these states towards a revolution that would have put an end to the only republic that remains to prove that a government founded on political equality can exist in a season of trial and difficulty, or is calculated to insure either security or happiness to a people. I am &c. A. B.

No. 10.

*Boston, March 29, 1809.*

Sir—Since my letter of the 18th, nothing has occurred which I thought worthy of communication.

The last week of this month and the first of April will be occupied in the election of governors and other executive officers in the New England states.

The federal candidate in New-Hampshire is already elected by a majority of about 1000 votes. His competitor was a man of large fortune, extensive connexions and inoffensive manners. These account for the smallness of the majority.

In Connecticut, no change is necessary, and none is to be apprehended.

In Rhode Island, it is of no consequence of what party the governor is a member, as he has neither civil nor military power, being merely president of the council.

In Massachusetts, it is certain that the federal candidate will succeed.

A few weeks will be sufficient in order to determine the relative strength of parties, and convince Mr. Madison that a war with Great Britain is not a measure upon which he dare venture. Since the plan of an organized opposition to the projects of Mr. Jefferson was put into operation, the whole of the New England states have transferred their political power to his political enemies, and the reason that he has still so many adherents is, that those who consider the only true policy of America to consist in the cultivation of peace, have still great confidence, that nothing can force him (or his successor who acts up to his system or rather is governed by it) to consent to war. They consider all the menaces and "dreadful note of preparation" to be a mere finesse, intended to obtain concession from England on cheap terms. From every sort of evidence, I confess I am myself of the same opinion; and am fully persuaded that the farce which has been acting at Washington will terminate in full proof of the imbecility and spiritless temper of the actors. A war attempted without the concurrence of both parties, and the general consent of the northern states, which constitute the bone and muscle of the country, must commence without hope and end in disgrace. It should, therefore, be the peculiar care of G. Britain to foster divisions be-



tween the north and south; and by succeeding in this, she may carry into effect her own projects in Europe, with a total disregard to the resentment of the democrats of this country. I am, &c. A. B.

No. 11.

*Boston, April 13, 1809.*

Sir—I send to Mr. R. a pamphlet entitled “*Suppressed Documents.*” The notes and comments were written by the gentleman who has written the “*analysis,*” which I sent by a former conveyance. These works have greatly contributed to excite the fears of the men of talents and property; who now *prefer the chance of maintaining their party by open resistance and a final separation* to an alliance with France, and a war with England. So that should the government unexpectedly and contrary to all reasonable calculation, attempt to involve the country in a measure of that nature, I am convinced (now that the elections have all terminated favorably) that none of the New England states would be a party in it.—But, as I have repeatedly written, the general government does not seriously entertain any such desire or intention. Had the majority in the New England states continued to approve of the public measures, it is extremely probable that Great Britain would now have to choose between war and concession. But the aspect of things in this respect is changed; and a war would produce an incurable alienation of the eastern states, and bring the whole country in subordination to the interests of England, whose navy would prescribe and enforce the terms upon which the commercial states should carry and the agricultural states export their surplus produce. All this is as well known to the democrats as to the other party; therefore they will avoid a war, at least until the whole nation is unanimous for it. Still when we consider of what materials the government is formed, it is impossible to speak with any certainty of their measures. The past administration in every transaction presents to the mind only a muddy commixture of folly, weakness and duplicity. The spell, by which the na-

tions of Europe have been rendered inert and inefficient when they attempted to shake it off, has stretched its shadows across the Atlantic and made a majority of the people of these states alike blind to duty and to their interests. I am, &c. A. B.

No. 12.

*Boston, April 26, 1869.*

Sir—Since my letter No. 11, I have had but little to communicate.

I have not yet been able to ascertain with sufficient accuracy the relative strength of the two parties in the Legislative bodies in New England.

In all of these states, however, governors have been elected out of the federal party, and even the southern papers indicate an unexpected augmentation of federal members in the next congress.

The correspondence between Mr. Erskine and the Secretary of State at Washington, you will have seen before this can reach you. It has given much satisfaction to the federal party here; because it promises an exemption from the evil they most feared (a war with England) and justifies their partiality towards Great Britain which they maintain was founded upon a full conviction of her justice and sincere disposition to preserve peace. Even the democrats affect to be satisfied with it, because as they insist it proves the efficacy of the restrictive system of Mr. Jefferson.

But the great benefit that will probably result from it will be that Bonaparte may be induced to force this country from her neutral position. Baffled in his attempt to exclude from this continent the manufactures of Great Britain, he will most likely confiscate all American property in his dominions and dependencies, and declare war. Nothing could more than this contribute to give influence and stability to the British party. The invidious occurrences of the rebellion would be forgotten in the resentment of the people against France, and they would soon be weaned from that attachment to her which is founded on the aid that was rendered to separate from the mother country.



While Great Britain waits for this natural, I might say necessary result of the negotiation, would it not be extremely inexpedient to conclude a treaty with the American government? Every sort of evidence and experience prove, that the democrats consider their political ascendancy in a great measure dependant upon the hostile spirit that they can keep alive towards Great Britain, and recent events demonstrate that their conduct will be predicated upon that conviction: it is therefore not to be expected that they will meet with corresponding feelings a sincere disposition on the part of England to adjust all matters in dispute. They are at heart mortified and disappointed to find that Great Britain has been in advance of the French government in taking advantage of the provisional clauses of the nonintercourse law; and if they shew any spirit at the next session of Congress towards France, it will be only because they will find Bonaparte deaf to entreaty and insensible of past favors; or that they may think it safer to float with the tide of public feelings which will set strongly against him, unless he keep *pari passu* with England in a conciliatory policy.

When I begun my letter, I intended to make some observations in relation to the boundary line—[Here 10 or 12 lines of the manuscript are erased.]

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. 13.

*Boston, May 5, 1809.*

Sir—Although the recent changes that have occurred quiet all apprehensions of war and consequently lessen *all hope of a separation of the states*, I think it necessary to transmit by the mail of each week a sketch of passing events.

On local politics I have nothing to add; and as the parade that is made in the National Intelligencer of the sincere disposition of Mr. Madison to preserve amicable relations with Great Britain is in my opinion calculated to awaken vigilance and distrust rather than inspire confidence I shall (having nothing more important to write about) take leave to examine his motives.

I am not surprised at his conditional removal of the nonintercourse law with respect to Great Britain because it was made incumbent on him by the act of congress ; but the observations made on his friendly dispositions towards Great Britain is a matter of no little astonishment. The whole tenor of his political life directly and unequivocally contradicts them. His speech on the British treaty in '99. His attempt to pass a law for the confiscation of "British debts" and British property. His commercial resolutions grounded apparently on an idea of making America useful as a colony to France. His conduct while secretary of state ; all form an assemblage of probabilities tending to convince me at least that he does not seriously desire a treaty in which the rights and pretension of Great Britain would be fairly recognized. It seems impossible that he should at once divest himself of his habitual animosity and that pride of opinion, which his present situation enables him to indulge ; but above all, that he should deprive his friends and supporters of the benefit of those prejudices which have been carefully fostered in the minds of the common people towards England, and which have so materially contributed to invigorate and augment the democratic party. Whatever his real motives may be, it is in this stage of the affair harmless enough to enquire into the cause of the apparent change. He probably acts under a conviction that in the present temper of the eastern states a war could not fail to produce a dissolution of the union ; or he may have profited by the mistakes of his predecessor ; and is inclined to seize the present opportunity to prove to the world that he is determined to be the president of a nation rather than the head of a faction ; or he has probably gone thus far to remove the impression on the minds of many that he was under the influence of France in order that he may with a better grace and on more tenable grounds quarrel with Great Britain in the progress of negotiating a treaty. Whatever his motives may be, I am very certain his party will not support him in any manly and generous policy, Weak



men are sure to temporize when great events call upon them for decision, and are sluggish and inert at the moment when the worst of evils is in action. This is the character of the democrats in the northern states. Of those of the south I know but little.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. 14.

*Boston, May 25, 1869.*

Sir—My last was under date of the 5th instant.

The unexpected change which has taken place in the feelings of political men in this country in consequence of Mr. Madison's prompt acceptance of the friendly proposals of Great Britain has caused a temporary suspension of the conflict of parties; and they both regard him with equal wonder and distrust. They all ascribe his conduct to various motives, but none believe him to be in earnest.

The state of New York has returned to the Assembly a majority of federal members. All this proves that an anticommercial faction cannot rule the northern states. Two months ago the state of New York was not ranked among the states that would adopt the policy of that of Massachusetts; and any favorable change was exceedingly problematical.

I beg leave to suggest that in the present state of things in this country my presence can contribute very little to the interests of Great Britain. If Mr. Erskine be sanctioned in all he has conceded, by his majesty's ministers, it is unnecessary for me, as indeed it would be unavailing to make any attempt to carry into effect the original purposes of my mission. While I think it my duty to give this intimation to you, I beg it may be understood that I consider myself entirely at the disposal of his majesty's government.

I am, &c.

A. B.

No. 15.

*Montreal, June 12, 1869.*

Sir—I have the honor to inform your excellency that I received, through Mr. Secretary Ryland, your excellency's commands to return to Canada, and after the

delays incident to this season of the year, in a journey from Boston, arrived here yesterday.

Your excellency will have seen by the papers of the latest dates from the United States, that a formidable opposition is already organized in congress to the late measures of Mr. Madison; and it is very evident that if he be sincere in his professions of attachment to G. Britain, his party will abandon him. Sixty one members have already voted against a resolution to approve of what he has done, and I have no doubt the rest of the democratic party will follow the example, as soon as they recover from the astonishment into which his apparent defection has thrown them.

The present hopes of the federalists are founded on the probability of a war with France; but, at all events this party is strong and well organized enough to prevent a war with England. It would now be superfluous to trouble your excellency with an account of the nature and extent of the arrangements made by the federal party to resist any attempt of the government unfavorable to Great Britain. They are such as do great credit to their ability and principles; and while a judicious policy is observed by Great Britain, secure her interests in America from decay. My fear of inducing a false security on the part of his majesty's government in their efficiency and eventual success, may have inclined me to refrain from doing them that justice in my former letters, which I willingly express.

I trust your excellency will ascribe the style and manner of my communications and the frequent ambiguities introduced in them, as arising from the secrecy necessary to be observed and my consciousness that you understood my meaning on the most delicate points without risking a particular explanation.

I lament that no occasion commensurate to my wishes has permitted me to prove how much I value the confidence of your excellency and the approbation already expressed by his majesty's minister.

I have the honor to be, &c.

I certify that the forgoing are the same referred to in the letter of H. W. Ryland, Esq. dated May 1st, 1809,



relating to the mission in which I was employed by sir James Craig, by his letter of instructions bearing date February 6, 1809.

(Signed)

JOHN HENRY.

No. V.

*Mr. Ryland to Mr. J. Henry, 1st May, 1809.*

My dear sir,—The news we have received this day from the United States will, I imagine, soon bring you back to us, and if you arrive at Montreal by the middle of June, I shall probably have the pleasure of meeting you there, as I am going up with sir James and a large suite. The last letters received from you are to the 13th April; the whole are now transcribing for the purpose of being sent home where they cannot fail of doing you credit, and I most sincerely hope they may eventually contribute to your permanent advantage. It is not necessary to repeat the assurances that no effort within the compass of my power shall be wanting to this end.

I am cruelly out of spirits at the idea of old England truckling to such a debased and accursed government as that of the United States.

I am greatly obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in procuring the books, though if Spain falls I shall scarcely have a heart to look into them. I can add no more now, but that I am most heartily and affectionately yours.

(Signed)

H. W. R.

J. Henry, esq. Boston.

*Mr. Ryland to Mr. Henry, dated May 4, 1809.*

My dear sir—You must consider the short letter I wrote you by the last post as altogether unofficial, but I am now to intimate to you in a more formal manner our hope of your speedy return, as the object of your journey seems, to the present at least, to be at an end. We have London news by way of the river up to the 6th of March, which tallies to a day with what we have received by the way of the states. Heartily wishing you a safe and speedy journey back to us,

I am, my dear sir, most sincerely yours,

(Signed)

H. W. R.

Have the goodness to bring my books with you, though I shall have little spirits to look into them, unless you bring good news from Spain.

## No. VI.

*Mr. Henry's memorial to Lord Liverpool, enclosed in a letter to Mr. Peel, of the 13th June, with a copy of that letter.*

The undersigned most respectfully submits the following statement and memorial to the Earl of Liverpool.

Long before and during the administration of your Lordship's predecessor, the undersigned bestowed much personal attention to the state of parties and to the political measures in the United States of America.

[Here is an erasure of about four lines.]

Soon after the affair of the Chesapeake frigate, when his majesty's governor general of British America had reason to believe that the two countries would be involved in a war, and had submitted to his majesty's ministers the arrangements of the English party in the United States for an efficient resistance to the general government, which would probably terminate in the separation of the northern states from the general confederacy; he applied to the undersigned to undertake a mission to Boston where the whole concerns of the opposition were managed. The object of the mission was to promote and encourage the federal party to resist the measures of the general government; to offer assurances of aid and support to his majesty's government of Canada; and to open a communication between the leading men engaged in that opposition and the governor general upon such a footing as circumstances might suggest; and finally to render the plans then in contemplation subservient to the views of his majesty's government.\*

The undersigned undertook the mission which lasted from the month of January to the month of June, inclusive, during which period those public acts and legislative resolutions of the assemblies of Massachusetts and Connecticut were passed which kept the general government of the United States in check and deterred it from carrying into execution

\* Vide the dispatches of Sir James Craig, June 1808.



the measures of hostility with which Great Britain was menaced.

For his service on the occasion herein recited, and the loss of time and expence incurred, the undersigned neither sought nor received any compensation; but trusted to the known justice and liberality of his majesty's government for the reward of services which could not, he humbly conceives, be estimated in pounds, shillings and pence. On the patronage and support which was promised in the letter of sir J. Craig under date of the 23d January, 1809 (wherein he gives an assurance "that the former correspondence and political information transmitted by the undersigned had met with the particular approbation of his majesty's secretary of state, and that his execution of the mission (proposed to be undertaken in that letter) would give him a claim not only on the governor general but on his majesty's ministers") the undersigned has relied and now most respectfully claims, in whatever mode the Earl of Liverpool may be pleased to adopt.

The undersigned most respectfully takes this occasion to state that sir J. Craig promised him an employment in Canada worth upwards of one thousand pounds a year, by his letter (herewith transmitted) under date of 13 Sept. 1809, which he has just learned has, in consequence of his absence, been given to another person. The undersigned abstains from commenting on this transaction; and respectfully suggests that the appointment of Judge Advocate General of the province of lower Canada, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year, or a consulate in the United States, *sine curia*, would be considered by him a liberal discharge of any obligation that his majesty's government may entertain in relation to his service.

*Copy of a letter to Mr. Peel, enclosing the foregoing.*

Sir—I take the liberty of enclosing to you a memorial addressed to the Earl of Liverpool; and beg you will have the goodness either to examine the documents in your office, or those in my own possession, touching the extent and legitimacy of my claims.

Mr. Ryland, the secretary of Sir J. Craig, is now in London; and, from his official knowledge of the transactions and facts alluded to in the memorial, can give any information required on the subject.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

(Signed)

J. H.

June 13, 1811.

Letter of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Liverpool, by his Secretary R. Peel, Esq. recognizing Mr. Henry's services, &c.

No. VII.

*Downing street, 28th June, 1811.*

Sir—I have not failed to lay before the Earl of Liverpool, the memorial, together with its several enclosures which was delivered to me a few days since, by general Loft, at your desire.

His lordship has directed me to acquaint you that he has referred to the correspondence in this office, of the year 1808, and finds two letters from sir James Craig, dated 10th of April, and 5th of May, transmitting the correspondence that has passed during your residence in the northern states of America, and expressing his confidence in your ability and judgment, but Lord Liverpool has not discovered any wish on the part of sir James Craig, that your claims for compensation should be referred to this country; nor, indeed, is allusion made to any kind of arrangement or agreement that had been made by that officer with you.

Under these circumstances, and had not sir James Craig determined on his immediate return to England, it would have been Lord Liverpool's wish to have referred your memorial to him, as being better enabled to appreciate the ability and success with which you executed a mission undertaken at his desire. Lord Liverpool will, however, transmit it to sir James Craig's successor in the government, and an assurance, that, from the recommendations he has received in your favor, and the opinion he has formed on your correspondence, he is convinced that the public service will be benefitted by your active employment in a public situation.



Lord Liverpool will also feel himself bound to give the same assurance to the Marquis Wellesley, if there is any probability that it will advance the success of the application which you have made to his lordship.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

ROBERT PEEL.

*John Henry, Esq. 27 Leicester square.*

Mr. Henry to Mr. Peel, September 24, 1811. No other answer than a dispatch to sir George Prevost and a letter marked B.

No. VIII.

*London, 4th September, 1811.*

Sir—I have just now learned the ultimate decision of my Lord Wellesley relative to the appointment which I was desirous to obtain; and find that the subsisting relations between the two countries, forbid the creating a new office in the United States, such as I was solicitous to obtain. In this state of things I have not a moment to lose in returning to Canada, and have taken my passage in the last and only ship that sails for Quebec this season. As I have no time to enter de novo into explanations with the gentleman who is in your office, and as I have received assurances from you, in addition to the letter of my Lord Liverpool, of the 27th June, that “his lordship would recommend me to the governor of Canada, for the first vacant situation that I would accept,” I beg the favor of you to advise me how I am to get that recommendation, without loss of time.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

J. H.

*Robert Peel, Esq. &c. &c. &c.*

*Copy of a letter written by Lord Liverpool, to Sir George Prevost, furnished by the under Secretary of state. Original in the dispatch to the governor general.*

No. IX.

*Downing street, 16th Sept. 1811.*

Sir—Mr. Henry who has the honor of delivering this letter is the gentleman who addressed to me the memorial, a copy of which I herewith transmit, and to whom the accompanying letter from Mr. Peel was written by my direction.

In compliance with his request, I now fulfil the assurance which I have given, of stating to you my opinion of the ability and judgment which Mr. Henry has manifested on the occasion mentioned in his memorial ; and of the benefit the public service might derive from his active employment in any public situation, in which you should think proper to place him.

I am, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed)

LIVERPOOL.

To Sir George Prevost, Bart. &c. &c.

Mr. Ryland to Mr. Henry.

No. X.

Tuesday evening, July 2d, 1811.

Dear Henry—It gives me real pleasure to find that the apprehension I had formed with respect to the fulfilment of your expectations, is likely to prove erroneous. As every thing which passed relative to your mission was in writing, I think you will do well in submitting to Mr. Peel all the original papers. I, myself, could give no other information relative to the subject than what they contain, as you and I had no opportunity of any verbal communication concerning it, till after your mission terminated; I never wrote you a letter in the governor's name, which had not previously been submitted to his correction.

The impression I had received of your character and abilities made me anxious to serve you, even before I had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you, and the same desire has operated on me ever since ; I am, therefore entitled to hope, that any opinion which I may have given you, as to your best mode of obtaining an employment under government, will be received with the same candor that gave rise to it. I think you will do well to persevere as you propose. I have no doubt that every letter from you which sir James sent home, will be found in Mr. Peel's office, as the established practice there is to bind the despatches and enclosures yearly up together.

Sincerely wishing you every success, I am most faithfully yours. (Signed)

H. W. RYLAND.

John Henry, Esq.



## Lord Liverpool's Dispatch.

*To Sir George Prevost, Governor General of Canada,  
with its enclosures, dated 16th September. 1811.*

*Downing street.*

Sir—Mr. Henry, who will have the honor of delivering this letter, is the gentleman who addressed to me the memorial, (a copy of which I herewith transmit,) and to whom the accompanying letter from Mr. Peel was written by my direction.

In compliance with his request, I now fulfil the assurance which I have given of stating to you my opinion of the ability and judgment which Mr. Henry has manifested on the occasions mentioned in his memorial, and of the benefit the public service might derive from his active employment in any public situation in which you should think proper to place him.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

LIVERPOOL.

*To Sir George Prevost, bart. &c.*

*Mr. Henry's memorial to Lord Liverpool, enclosed in  
Lord Liverpool's dispatch.*

To the right honorable the earl of Liverpool, the undersigned most respectfully submits the following memorial.

Long before and during the administration of your Lordship's predecessor, the undersigned bestowed much personal attention to the state of parties and political measures in the United States of America, and had an opportunity\* [Here is an erasure of 10 or 12 lines] and to unite the [An erasure here of 2 or 3 lines] the information transmitted by the undersigned to sir James Craig, and by him to Lord Castlereagh, met with with his lordship's approbation;† and when the hostile preparations in the United States, suggested to sir James Craig the necessity of making corresponding arrangements of precaution and defence, for the security of

\* See the letter of Mr. Henry addressed to the secretary of Sir James Craig, and by him transmitted to lord. in the month of April 1808.

† See document No 1, herewith transmitted.

his majesty's colonies, he applied to the undersigned to undertake a secret and confidential mission to the northern states to the party already mentioned; to direct their operations, and to transmit regular information of the same, and to endeavor to render their plans subservient to the interests of Great Britain.\* The undersigned readily undertook the mission, and spent five months in the active and zealous discharge of the duties connected with it [An erasure here of 20 or 25 lines†] which deterred the general government from the purpose already mentioned, and from a coalition with France,‡ while the information which he transmitted to sir James Craig, probably saved the trouble and expence of arming the Canadian militia. All this, the undersigned performed without ever showing his commission or appearing as an authorized agent—from a thorough conviction that a discovery of his mission would furnish the French party with the means of destroying the influence of the party adhering to Great Britain in every quarter of America, and enable the government to go to war upon popular and tenable ground.

*In the application of Sir James Craig to the undersigned, to undertake the mission aforesaid, he says “the information and political observations received from you heretofore were all transmitted to the secretary of state who has expressed his particular approbation of them, and there is no doubt that your able execution of such a mission as I have above suggested, would give you a claim not only on the governor general (of B. America) but on his majesty's ministers,” &c. §*

The undersigned being now in England on his private affairs, and on the eve of departure for America, most

\* See documents No. 1 and 2 herewith transmitted.

† See letter No. 1 of the series transmitted by Sir J. Craig, to the colonial department, under date February 14, 1809.

‡ See the remainder of the aforesaid letter.

§ See document No. 1, herewith transmitted.



humbly and respectfully submits his claims, under the stipulations aforesaid, to the earl of Liverpool, in the confident expectation that his lordship will treat them with that justice and liberality, which upon investigation they may be found to merit.

It may not be superfluous to add, that the undersigned has never received in any shape whatever any compensation or patronage for the services he has rendered. This fact, Mr. Ryland, the secretary of Sir James Craig, now in London, can vouch; as well as for the truth of all the matters set forth in this memorial.

I have the honor, &c.

(Signed)

J. HENRY.

27 Leicester Square, June 23, 1811.

*Extract of the official letter of sir James Craig, signed by Mr. Ryland, dated January 1809, accompanying Lord Liverpool's dispatch.*

[Most secret and confidential.]

Quebec, 26th January, 1809.

My dear sir—The extraordinary situation of things at this time in the neighboring states has suggested to the governor in chief, the idea of employing you on a secret and confidential mission, provided an arrangement can be made to meet the important end in view, without throwing an absolute obstacle in the way of your professional pursuits.

*The information and political observations heretofore received from you were transmitted by his excellency to the secretary of state who has expressed his particular approbation of them and there is no doubt that your able execution of such a mission as I have above suggested, would give you a claim not only on the governor general, but on his majesty's ministers which would eventually contribute to your advantage—At present it is only necessary for me to add, that the governor will furnish you with a cypher for carrying on your correspondence; and in case the leading party in any of the states wish to open a communication with this government, their views might be communicated through you. I am, &c.*

(Signed)

HERMAN W. RYLAND.

To John Henry, esq,

*Extract from the general instructions given by sir James Craig to Mr. Henry, dated 6th February, 1809, accompanying Lord Liverpool's dispatch.*

*Quebec, 6th February, 1809.*

Sir—As you have so readily undertaken the service which I have suggested to you, as likely to be attended with much benefit to the public interests, I am to request that with your earliest conveniency you will proceed to Boston.

The principal object that I recommend to your attention, is the endeavor to obtain the most accurate information of the state of affairs in that part of the union, which from its wealth, the number of its inhabitants, and the known intelligence and ability of several of its leading men, must naturally possess a very considerable influence over, and will indeed probably lead the eastern states of America in the part that they may take at this important crisis. I shall not pretend to point out to you the mode by which you will be likely to obtain this important information.—Your own judgment and the connection you have formed must be your guide.

In the general terms which I have made use of to describe the objects which I recommend to your attention, it is scarcely necessary to observe that I include the the state of the public opinion both with regard to the external politics and the probability of a war with England : the comparative strength and views of the two great parties into which the country is divided, and the views and designs of that which may ultimately prevail.

If the federalists of the eastern states should be successful in obtaining that decided influence which may enable them to direct the public opinion, it is not impossible that rather than submit to a continuance of the difficulties and distress to which they are now subject, they will exert that influence to bring about a *separation from the general union*. The earliest information on this subject may be of great consequence to our government ; as it may also that it should be informed how far they would in such an event look up to England for assistance and be disposed to enter into a connexion with



us; these I leave to your judgement and discretion.

(Signed)

J. H. CRAIG.

[The letter of instruction is long. The above are the principal points in it, except as to secrecy.]

*Extracts of letters of recal from the mission in consequence of the arrangement entered into between Mr. Erskine and the American government.*

Quebec, May, 1809.

“The news we have received this day from the U. States will, I imagine, soon bring you back to us. The last letters received from you are to the 13th April. The whole are now transcribing to be sent home where they cannot fail of doing you great credit, and eventually contribute to your permanent advantage.

(Signed)

H. W. RYLAND, sec'y.

J. Henry, Esq.

4th May, 1809.—I am now formally to intimate to you our hope of your return; as the object of your mission seems for the present at least, to be abandoned. Sincerely wishing you a safe and speedy journey back to us, I am, &c.

(Signed)

H. W. RYLAND.

J. Henry, Esq.

*Copy of a letter from Mr. Peel to Mr. Henry.*

Downing street, 28th June, 1811.

Sir—I have not failed to lay before the earl of Liverpool the memorial, together with its several enclosures, which was delivered to me a few days since by general Loft at your desire.

His lordship has directed me to acquaint you in reply that he has referred to the correspondence in this office of the year 1808, and finds two letters from Sir James Craig, dated 10th April and 15th May, transmitting the correspondence that had passed during your residence in the northern states of America, and expressing his confidence in your ability and judgment; but Lord Liverpool has not discovered any wish on the part of Sir James Craig that your claims for compensation should be referred to this country, nor indeed is allusion made to any kind of arrangement or agreement that had been made by that officer with you. Under these circum-

stances, and had not sir James Craig determined on his immediate return to England, it would have been Lord Liverpool's wish to have referred your memorial to him as being better enabled to appreciate the ability and success with which you executed a mission undertaken at his desire ; Lord Liverpool will however transmit it to sir James Craig's successor in the government, with assurance that from the recommendations he has received in your favor, and the opinion he has formed on your correspondence, he is convinced the public service will be benefitted by your active employment in a public situation.

Lord Liverpool will also feel himself bound to give the same assurance to the Marquis Wellesley if there is any probability that it will advance the success of the application which you have made to his lordship.

I am, sir, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT PEEL.

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(E)

*Revolutionary services of General Hull, as taken from his defence before the Court Martial in March, 1812.*

For more than half a century I supported a character without reproach. My youth was devoted to the service of my country ; I fought her battles in that war which achieved her liberty and independence, and which was ended before many of you, gentlemen, who are my judges, were born. If upon any occasion a man may speak of his own merits, it is at such a time as this ; and I hope I may be permitted to present to you in very few words a narration of my life, while I was engaged in scenes which were calculated to prove a man's firmness and courage. I shall do it with less reluctance, because the testimony I have offered of the venerable men who served with me in the revolutionary war, will vouch for all I have to say. In the year 1775, at the age of about 21 years, I was appointed a captain in one of the Connect-



icut regiments ; during that campaign and until March 1776, when the enemy evacuated Boston, I served with the army at Cambridge and Roxbury, and in the immediate command of General Washington. I was with that party of the army in March 1776 which took possession of Dorchester heights ; the movement which compelled the enemy to evacuate Boston. The next day the regiment to which I belonged marched for New-York. I was on Long-Island when the enemy landed, and remained until the night the whole army retreated. I was in several small skirmishes both on Long-Island and York-Island before the army retired to the White Plains. I then belonged to Colonel Charles Webb's regiment of Connecticut.

This regiment was in the severest part of the action on Chatterdon's Hill, a little advanced of the White Plains, a few days after the main body of the army abandoned New-York. This battle is memorable in the history of our country, and the regiment to which I belonged received the particular thanks of General Washington, in his public orders, for its bravery and good conduct on the occasion. It was particularly distinguished from all the other troops engaged in the action. I received a slight wound by a musket ball in my side, but it did not prevent me from remaining at the head of my company.

I was in the battle of Trenton, when the Hessians were taken in December 1776, and being one of the youngest captains in the army, was promoted by General Washington, the day after the battle to a majority for my conduct on that occasion. The first of January 1777 I was in the battle of Princeton. In the campaign of the same year the regiment to which I belonged served in the northern army ; I was early in the spring ordered to Ticonderoga, and commanded the regiment (being the senior officer present) under General St. Clair, and I was with that officer in his retreat from that post.

After General St. Clair's army formed a junction with General Schuyler's army on the north river, at Fort Edward, the regiment to which I belonged was detached

and marched to Fort Schuyler, and relieved that post, which was besieged by General St. Leger.

On the retreat of General Schuyler's army from fort Edward I commanded the rear guard of the army, and being two miles in the rear was attacked by a large body of British troops and Indians at day light in the morning, in which action were killed and wounded between thirty and forty of my guard. And I received the particular thanks of General Schuyler for my conduct on the occasion.

I was in the two memorable battles on the 19th of September and the 7th of October on Bemis's heights against General Burgoyne's army previous to its surrender. In the action of the 19th of September I commanded a detachment of 300 men, who fought the principal part of the afternoon, and more than one half of them were killed or wounded.

On the 7th of October I likewise commanded a detachment from the brigade which assisted in attacking the enemy on the left of our position, defeated him, followed him to the right of his lines, stormed his entrenchments, and took and held possession of the right of his position, which compelled him to retreat to Saratoga and there to capitulate.

After the memorable event of the capitulation of General Burgoyne's army, the regiment to which I belonged, was ordered to Pennsylvania, to join the army under the command of General Washington. I remained with the army the winter of 1777 at Valley Forge, and in the spring of 1778, when the British army evacuated Philadelphia, I was in the battle of Monmouth.

From December 1778, to May 1779, I commanded the American posts in advance of the White Plains, near Kingsbridge, during which time I had various skirmishes with the enemy. In May 1779 the principal part of the British army advanced up the North River to Verplank's and Stoney Point, and I was ordered to retreat before them to West Point.

I then joined the light infantry under the command of General Wayne, and was in the memorable attack on Stoney Point with a separate command of 400 light infantry.



For my conduct on this occasion I received the particular thanks of General Wayne, General Washington and congress.

In the summer and autumn of 1780 I commanded the advanced posts of the army, and in December of that year, I commanded an expedition against the enemy stationed at Morrissina which was successful, and for which I received the thanks of General Washington in his general orders to the army and likewise the thanks of Congress. General Washington in his orders I well remember made use of these words "He thanked me for my judicious arrangements in the plan of operations, and for my intrepidity and valor in the execution."

From the conclusion of the revolutionary war I have lived with the respect of my countrymen, and have enjoyed repeated marks of their confidence in the offices which have been bestowed upon me. When I found that the independence for which I had so often fought, was assailed, that again my country must appeal to arms to avenge her wrongs, and to protect her rights, I felt that I might yet do her some service. For though many years had passed since I had fought under her standard, and though my own arm might not have had its wonted strength, yet my spirit was unbroken, and my devotion to her unimpaired. I thought in the field where there could be but few who had any military experience, what I had learned in the most active scenes of a seven years war, might be useful. I fondly hoped that in my age, as well as in my youth, I might render services that should deserve the gratitude of my country. That if I fell by the sword of her enemies, my grave would be moistened with the tears of my countrymen; that my descendants would be proud of my name and fame. But how vain is anticipation! I am now accused of crimes which would blast my former honors, and transmit my memory with infamy to posterity. And in that hideous catalogue, there is none from the imputation of which my nature and my feelings have more recoiled than from that of cowardice, to which I am to answer.

(F.)

Massacre of the American prisoners surrendered to officers of Great Britain, by Indians in the British service. Abandonment of the remains of Americans killed in battle, or murdered after the surrender to the British. The pillage and shooting of American citizens, and the burning of their houses after the surrender to the British, under the guarantee of protection.

*Extract of a letter from Augustus B. Woodward, Esq. to General Proctor.*

DETROIT, Feb. 2d, 1813.

"They (the inhabitants of Michigan) have entertained a constant apprehension that when the American forces approached the territory, and when an engagement had taken place, the fury of the savage mind at the sight of blood, and in reflecting on the dead they lose, and perhaps on the retaliatory treatment of prisoners, or of the dead, which their cruel mode of warfare is always likely to produce, might drive them to ignoble revenge on the prisoners they find in the country, and the inhabitants of it, who are American citizens. They therefore pressed this subject on your attention previous to the battle of the 22d of January, 1813; and felt satisfied with your assurance that you considered your own honor pledged for their effectual protection.

"Since the result of that battle, facts are before their faces which they cannot shut their eyes upon. Some of them are perhaps unknown to yourself. I will enumerate some which I believe there will be no difficulty in establishing beyond the reach of contradiction.

"*First.* Some of the prisoners after the capitulation of the 22d of January, 1813, have been tomahawked by the savages.

"*Second.* Some of the prisoners after that capitulation, have been shot by the savages.

"*Third.* Some of the prisoners after that capitulation, have been burnt by the savages.



“*Fourth.* Some of the inhabitants of the territory of Michigan, citizens of the United States of America, after the capitulation, have been shot by the savages.

“*Fifth.* The houses of some of the inhabitants of the territory, American citizens, after the capitulation have been burnt by the savages.

“*Sixth.* Some of the inhabitants, American citizens, after the capitulation, have been pillaged by the savages.

A. W. M’Lean, Esq. to Mr. Woodward.

*Sandwich, Feb. 9, 1813.*

SIR—You will have the goodness to appoint a day for the purpose of adducing before Col. Proctor such proof as you may have, to substantiate the assertions in your letter to him, relative to the slaughter of the enemy’s sick and wounded, on 22d January last.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) A. W. M’LEAN, aid-de-camp.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Woodward to Gen. Proctor.

*Sandwich, Feb. 10, 1813.*

“I had the honor to receive, on the 3d day of this month, a verbal message from you communicated to me by major Muir, requesting me to procure some evidence of the massacre of the American prisoners, on the 22d day of January last.

“I met with only a few persons at Detroit who are inhabitants of the river Raisin, nor was it altogether a pleasant task to those, to relate, in these times, the scenes they have beheld. Some of them, however, appeared before a magistrate, and I send you copies of what they have stated. It will occur to you, sir, immediately, that what any of them state on the information of others, though not direct evidence in itself, leads to the source where it may be obtained.

“In communicating your message, Maj. Muir added something having relation to American citizens, who might be willing to take the oath to the king.

“It will be obvious to you, sir, that in a state of open and declared war, a subject or citizen of one party cannot transfer his allegiance to the other party, without

incurring the penalties of treason ; and, while nothing can excuse his guilt, so, neither are those innocent who lay temptations before him.

“ The principles adopted by the United States on the subject of expatriation, are liberal, but are perfectly inapplicable to a public enemy in time of war.

“ Some of the French inhabitants of the territory of Michigan, citizens of the United States of America, have been much urged on this subject, and are apprehensive of being further troubled.

“ I had the further honor of receiving, on the eighth inst. your verbal message by your aid-de-camp Mr. M’Lean, acquainting me that there was no capitulation on the 22d January, and that the prisoners surrendered at discretion.

“ I, therefore, beg pardon for that mistake.

“ The principles, however, of the laws of nations, impose an obligation almost equally strong.”

## TRANSLATION.

*Territory of Michigan,* } ss.  
*district of Detroit.*

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned, one of the justices of the peace in the district of Detroit, Joseph Roberts, an inhabitant on river aux Raisins, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelist, deposes and says ; that on the next day after the battle on the said river Raisin, a short time after sunrise, he saw the Indians kill the American prisoners, with their tomahawks, and that they shot several, to wit, three, that the Indians set the house on fire, and that in going out, the prisoners were massacred and killed as aforesaid, that is to say : three were shot, the others were killed in the houses, and burnt with the houses. The Indians burnt first the house of Jean Baptiste Jorcaume, and afterwards that of Gabriel Godfrey, jun. The deponent has been informed that there were about 48 or 49 prisoners in the two houses. The deponent has seen dead bodies on the high way, which the hogs were tearing and eating. Mr. Brunot told the deponent that the Indians had killed those of the prisoners who were least wounded, and that the others were burnt alive.



Antoine Cuellarie and Alexis Salliot, inhabitants on the river Aux Ecorces, told the deponent that two prisoners had been burnt in the house of Grandon, on the river Aux Sables. The deponent has heard that the Indians had torn out the hearts of the prisoners, and had brought them still smoaking in the houses, but did not recollect the names of the informants ; he believes however, they were men worthy of credit.

The deponent says farther, that after the first action on the river Raisin, the Indians fired on one named Solo, son in law to Stephen Labeau, an inhabitant of the river Aux Sables, when returning from the house of Grandon to his father in law ; on his arrival, he hallooed to his father in law to open the door, saying that he was mortally wounded ; Stephen Labeau opened the door and told his son in law to throw himself on the bed, but that in trying to move he fell dead. An Indian knocked at the door, and Labeau having opened it, received a ball in his breast, and fell dead. The son of Labeau made his escape ; the Indians fired several shots at him which did not reach him.

The deponent says farther, that Baptiste Couteur was killed near the house of the deponent on the day of the second battle on the river Raisin, a little after sunrise.

The deponent says farther, that the Indians have often threatened to burn his house and barn, if he did not march with them against the Americans. The deponent says he is an American citizen.

The deponent says that several of his neighbors have told him that they had received the same threat. Other settlements have been threatened with fire. The mills and houses on the river Aux Reches were burnt in the month of September last, after the capitulation of Detroit. And further this deponent said not.

JOSEPH ROBERT.

Sworn and subscribed before me, the 4th Feb. 1813.

PETER AUDAIN, J. P. D. D.

*Territory of Michigan,* }  
*district of Detroit.* } ss.

Be it remembered, that on this day, February the fourth, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and thirteen,

personally came before the undersigned, a justice of the peace for the district aforesaid, viz. John M'Donnell, an inhabitant of the city of Detroit, who, after being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, that a few days after the battle of the 22d January last, (at the river Raisin) he was personally present at the house of James May Esq. when he heard the said James May ask Mr. William Jones, the acting agent for the Indian department, if there would be any impropriety in purchasing the prisoners from the Indians; and that he heard the said William Jones say 'that he thought there would be no impropriety in purchasing them, but would not undertake to authorize any person to do so;' that in consequence of which, this deponent purchased three or four of the prisoners, amongst the number was one by the name of — Hamilton, a private in the Kentucky volunteers, who declared to this deponent, that on the first or second day after the battle at the river Raisin, on the 22d January last, as he and some of his fellow prisoners were marching with the Indians between this place and the river Raisin, they came up to where one of the prisoners was burnt, the life just expiring, and an Indian kicking the ashes off his back, saying 'damned son of a bitch.'

This deponent further deposeth as aforesaid, that Dr. Bowers, a surgeon's mate of the Kentucky volunteers, who was purchased by him and some other gentlemen, stated to this deponent 'he was left to take care of the wounded after the battle, but felt rather timid on account of the savages, but that he received such assurances from Capt. or Col. Elliot, of the safety of himself as well as the remaining prisoners, he concluded to stay, as sleighs were promised to be sent to fetch them away the next morning; that near about day light of the morning following the day of the battle, the Indians came into the house where said Bowers was with the other prisoners, and proceeded to plunder and tomahawk such as could not walk; and stripping the said Bowers and the wounded prisoners of all their clothes, that while the



said Bowers and two other prisoners, named Searls and Bradford, as near as this deponent can recollect, were sitting by the fire in the Indian camp, an Indian came up who appeared to be drunk, and called the said Searls, as near as this deponent can recollect, a *Madison* or *Washington*, then took up a tomahawk and struck the said Searls on the shoulders; that the said Searls caught hold of the tomahawk and held it for some time: that the said Bowers advised the said Searls to submit to his fate; with that, the Indian gave him a second blow on the head, *killed, scalped, and stript* him; during this time the said Bowers and Bradford were personally present, and being apprehensive for their own safety that he, Bowers, ran and came up to the old chief (who sold him to his deponent and others) who took him under his protection, and was very kind to him. This deponent further deposeth, that he has reason to believe the aforesaid Bowers and Hamilton are now at Sandwich, and if applied to, they could give more ample information relative to the particulars aforesaid. And further this deponent sayeth not.

JOHN M'DONNELL.

Sworn and subscribed at my chambers in the city of Detroit, the day and year before written.

JAMES MAY.

Note from Mr. John M'Donnell to James May, Esq.

*Detroit, February 4, 1813.*

Dear Sir,—I had a conversation with Mr. Smart about leaving your house to day, who had a conversation with Bowers and Bradford. He observes that I have made several material errors in my affidavit before you this day. He says the prisoner killed was of the name of Blythe, instead of Searls; and mentioned some other errors that differ widely from what I have sworn to, so that I think it is a pity Bower's and Bradford's affidavits could not be had instead of mine. Yours,

J. M'DONNELL.

*James May, Esq.*

Note from Mr. M'Donnell to Mr. Lyons, his clerk.


I wish you to mention to judge Woodward, that application is made for me by a friend on the other side, to

remain till the navigation opens. On that account I hope he will keep back the deposition that I have made regarding the murders committed by the savages on the river Raisin, as he has much better testimony to substantiate facts than what I have sworn to on hearsay ; and as I am sure, if the colonel was even disposed to hear my application, that affidavit will be enough to send me off, or else if I was allowed to remain, Elliot would set Indians on me.

## TRANSLATION.

*Territory of Michigan* } ss.  
*district of Detroit.*

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned one of the justices of the peace in the district of Detroit, Antoine Boulard, of the river aux Raisins, who being sworn on the Holy Evangelist, deposeth and says, that on the next day after the last battle on the river aux Raisins, he saw the Indians kill the secretary of the American General, who was on the horse of the Indian who had taken him prisoner, with a rifle shot; that the prisoner fell on one side, and an Indian came forward with a sabre, finished him, scalped him, stript him and carried away his clothes. The body remained two days on the high way, before the door of the deponent, and was part cat up by the hogs. Afterwards, the deponent, together with Francois Lasselle, Hubert Lacroix, Charles Chovin and Louis Lajoie, took up the corps at dusk of the evening, and carried it into a field near the woods, where the hogs did not go. They dared not to bury it for fear of being surprised by the Indians. And further this deponent saith not.

ANTOINE (his  mark) BOULAND.

Sworn and subscribed in my presence, the 5th day of February, 1813.

PETER AUDRAIN, J. P. D. D.

I hereby certify, that the next day after the last battle, on the river aux Raisins, the secretary of the American General was taken near the door of the deponent; was wounded and placed on a horse; that seven or eight Indians were near the house, one of whom shot him in the



head with a rifle ; that he did not fall off his horse until another Indian, drawing his sabre, struck him on the head several times, and then he fell to the ground ; was scalped, stript of his clothes, and left on the road, where he remained one day and a half ; I, the deponent, with Francois Lasselle, Hubert Lacroix, Louis Chovin, on the evening of the second day, took up the body, carried it to the skirts of the woods, and covered it with a few branches, but could not stay to bury it, for fear of the Indians that were in the neighborhood ; and on the next day after the last battle I was near the house of Gabriel Godfrey jun. and the house of Jean Baptistere Jereaum, where a great number of prisoners were collected : and that I heard the screaming of the prisoners whom the Indians were tomahawking ; that the savages set the houses on fire and went off.

LOUIS his  $\bowtie$  mark BERNARD.

*Detroit, Feb. 5, 1813.*

I certify, that the bodies of the Americans killed at the battle of la Riviere aux Raisins, of the twenty second of January last, remained unburied ; and that I have seen the hogs and dogs eating them.

The hogs appeared to be rendered mad by no profuse a diet of christian flesh.

I saw the houses of Mr. Gerome and Mr. Godfey, on fire, and have heard that there were prisoners in them.

The inhabitants did not dare to bury the dead on account of the Indians.

The inhabitants have been threatened by the Indians, if they did not take up arms against the Americans.

*Michigan, February 6th, 1813.*

ALEXIS his  $\bowtie$  mark LABADIE.

This is to certify, that on or about the twenty eighth day of January last past, an Indian woman came to my dwelling house, on the river Rouge, and informed me that on the morning of that day an American prisoner had been killed in the Indian camp, and the reason she assigned for killing him was because he had expressed an hatred for the Indians.

ROBERT ABBOT.

*Detroit, 8th Feb. 1813.*

*Territory of Michigan,* }  
*district of Detroit.* } ss.

Personally appeared before me, the subscriber, Aaron Thomas and Agnes Thomas, his wife, who both made oath on the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, that the Indians have taken from them, from the house of Mr. Atwater, on the 16th of August, 1812, one chintz gown, valued seven and a half dollars, one calico gown, valued three dollars seventy five cents, one calimanco petticoat, valued four dollars, one pair of cotton stockings one dollar and fifty cents, one pair of cotton stockings, seventy cents, one pair woolen stockings seventy five cents, one pair of silk gloves, one dollar fifty cents, one new small trunk two dollars, one pocket book two dollars, thread one dollar, needles fifty cents, one shawl one dollar, one cambric handkerchief seventy five cents, one cotton do. sixty two and an half cents, one shift one dollar, three fourths of a pound of pepper fifty cents, one cake of chocolate twenty five cents, one fan fifty cents, one blanket three dollars, one cloak ten dollars, three yards of check cotton ninety three and three fourths cents, one shawl one dollar, one flannel loose gown three dollars. On the twelfth September, taken on river Rouge, one chesnut sorrel horse fifty dollars—saddle and bridle ten dollars. On Friday the eleventh September, taken on river Rouge, one other saddle eight dollars, one pair leather leading lines two dollars fifty cents, leading lines seventy five cents, one axe two dollars fifty cents, chintz patches two dollars.

Sworn before me at my chambers, 17th September, 1812

(Signed)

P. AUDRAIN, J. P. D. D.

*Letter from the Indians to the inhabitants of the river Raisin, not dated.*

The Hurons and the other tribes of Indians, assembled at the Miami Rapids, to the inhabitants of the river Raisin.

**FRIENDS ! LISTEN !**

You have always told us you would give us any assistance in your power.

A A



We, therefore, as the enemy is approaching us, within twenty five miles, call upon you all to rise up and come here immediately, bringing your arms along with you.

Should you fail at this time, we will not consider you in future as friends, and the consequences may be very unpleasant.

We are well convinced you have no writings forbidding you to assist us.

We are your friends at present.

(Signed)

ROUND HEAD.

*By an emblem resembling a horse.*

(Signed)

WALK IN THE WATER.

*By an emblem resembling a turtle.*

### TRANSLATION.

*Letter of the inhabitants of the river Raisin, dated Riv-  
ierre Aux Raisins, the 13th November, 1812.*

To the Hon. Judge Woodward, Detroit. Rivierre Aux  
Raisins, the 13th November, 1812.

Sir—In the embarrassment in which we find ourselves at present, on the subject of a letter addressed to Col. Navar, on the part of the Hurons and other savage tribes we depute him to you to represent to you the situation of the inhabitants of the river Raisin, praying you to assist him with your advice in so delicate a matter, having at all times had great confidence in your great knowledge.

We have the honor to be, with profound respect, your obedient servants.

(Signed)

JAQUES LASSELLE.

JEAN BAPTISTE GEROME.

JEAN BAPTISTE BEAUGRAND.

FRANCOIS LASSELLE.

DUNCAN REID.

JEAN BAPTISTE LASSELLE.

*Extract from the report of ensign Isaac L. Baker, agent  
for the prisoners taken after the battle of Frenchtown,  
January 22d, 1813, to Brig. Gen. Winchester, dated  
"British Niagara, February 26, 1813.*

"For the greatest number of our unfortunate fellow soldiers being sent from Detroit, we are indebted to the

exertions of our prisoner fellow citizens there, who with unexampled generosity when they saw their countrymen driven through the streets like sheep to a market, lavished their wealth for their ransom. Nor was the procurement of our liberty all. We had been almost entirely stripped by the Indians. Clothes, such as the exigency of the occasion permitted to be prepared, were furnished us.

“ On the 8th instant, Col. Proctor ordered me to make out a return of all the prisoners who were killed by the Indians subsequent to the battle, agreeable to the best information I could collect. The enclosed return marked B. was produced by this order. I might have added the gallant Capt. Nathaniel Gray ; S. Hart, deputy inspector general ; Capt. Virgil M’Crackin, of Col Allen’s regiment ; Capt. John H. Woolfolk, your secretary ; ensign Levi Wells, of the 7th United States infantry and a number of privates, whom I find by subsequent information, have been massacred.

“ The memory of past services rendered me by Capt. Hart’s family, made me particularly anxious to ascertain his fate. I flattered myself he was alive, and every information I could get for some time flattered my hopes. But one of the last prisoners who was brought in, told me that the captain was certainly massacred. He was so badly wounded as to prevent him from walking. The Indians took him some distance on a horse, but at length took him off and tomahawked him.

“ About the 10th instant, an Indian brought Capt. M’Crackin’s commission to Sandwich ; the paper was bloody. The fellow said he took the captain unhurt, but some time after, when stripping and examining him, he found an Indian scalp in his bosom, which induced him to kill him. This, you cannot but be assured, is a humbug of the fellow’s own making, to screen himself from the odium of barbarity. The captain’s character, and the danger that attended his carrying such furniture in a disastrous battle, give it the lie.

“ Capt. Woolfolk, after having been wounded in two places, by some means had got refuge in one of the French houses on the Raisin. He was discovered next day and dragged from his asylum. He was taken to the house of



a Mr. Lasselle, where he said he would give 1000 dollars to any one who would purchase him. Mr. Lasselle said it was out of his power, but he had no doubt his brother would do it, who lived at hand. He directed his owners to the house of his brother, but, as they were on their way, an Indian from a waste house shot him through the head.

“Ensign Wells was taken by my side unhurt. I considered him as alive until my arrival at this place. Capt. Nags tells me he was killed by a Pottowattimie Indian, not long after he was taken.

“Many fresh scalps have been brought in since the battle, and dead bodies seen through the country, which proves that others have been killed whose names I have not been able to find out, independent of those reported to Col. Proctor.

“This, sir, is all the information I have been able to collect, concerning those who are massacred. The fifteen or eighteen mentioned in the remarks to the return made to Col. Proctor, whose names do not appear, were not known by those who saw them killed.

“Major Graves of the 5th regiment of Kentucky volunteers, I have been able to get no information of further than that he was brought to the river Rouge, on the 25th or 26th of January in a sleigh. I fear, from our having heard nothing of him since, that he is no more, and that valuable officer forever lost to his country.

“The dead of our army still denied the rights of sepulture. At the time I left Sandwich, I was told the hogs were eating them. A gentleman told me he had seen them running about with skulls, arms, legs and other parts of the human system in their mouths. The French people on the Raisin buried Capts. Hart and Woolfolk and some others, but it was more than their lives were worth to have been caught paying this last accustomed tribute to mortality.

“I have several times agitated the subject of burying the dead, when in company with the British officers, but they always answered the Indians would not suffer it.

## B

*A return of the American prisoners who were tomakawked by the Indians, subsequent to the battle at Frenchtown, January 22d, 1813.*

1. Pascal Hickman, captain ; 2. James E. Blythe, private ; 3. Charles Gerles, do. 4. Thomas S. Crow, do. 5. Daniel Darnell, do. 6. Thomas Ward, do. 7. William Butler, do. 8. Henry Downy, do. 9. John P. Sidney do.

In addition to the above number, I saw two others tomahawked at Sandy creek myself, and find that the prisoners now in the hospital in Sandwich saw, say fifteen or eighteen others, treated in the same manner. Two men tell me they saw one who had the appearance of having been burned to death. Those men who saw Henry Downy and William Butler killed, tell me that the Indians left them without scalping.

ISAAC L. BAKBR,

*Ensign 2d United States' Infantry.*

*Colonel H. Proctor.*

*Extract of a letter from Major General Harrison to the Secretary at war, dated at the Miami Rapids, February 11, 1813.*

"I have the honor to enclose to you the deposition of Medard Labadie, who was at the river Raisin on the 22d ult. and remained there till the 5th instant. His account of the loss of the enemy in the action, is corroborated by several others, nor is there the least reason to doubt his statement, as it regards the horrible fate of our wounded men. There is another circumstance which plainly shews that the British have no intention to conduct the war (at least in this quarter) upon those principles which have been held sacred by all civilized nations. On the 30th ult. I dispatched Dr. M'Keehan, a surgeon's mate in the militia, with a flag, to ascertain the situation of our wounded. He was attended by one of our militia men and a Frenchman. On the night after their departure, they halted near this place for the purpose of taking a few hour's sleep, in a vacant cabin upon the bank of the river. The cariole in which they travelled was left at the door with the flag set up in it.



They were discovered by a party of Indians (accompanied, it is said, by a British officer) and attacked in the manner described in the deposition. The militia man was killed and scalped, the doctor and the Frenchman taken. Doctor M'Keehan was furnished with a letter addressed to any British officer whom he might meet, describing the character in which he went, and the object for which he was sent, an open letter Gen. Winchester, and written instructions to himself all of which he was directed to show to the first officer he met with. He was also supplied with one hundred dollars in gold to procure necessaries for the prisoners.

The affidavit of Medard Labadie, late resident near the river Raisin, in the Michigan territory. He being sworn, saith, he was in his house when he heard the guns at the commencement of the action at the river Raisin, on the 22d Jan. 1813, between the American forces under Gen. Winchester, and the British Canadian and Indian forces, said to be commanded by Col. St. George. After some little time, he heard that the Indians were killing the inhabitants as well as the Americans, upon which he went towards the scene of action, in order to save his family. As he went on, he was with one other inhabitant taken prisoner by two Wyandot Indians, and carried prisoners to the Indian lines, from which he saw great part of the action. The right wing of the Americans had given way before he got a sight of the action. It terminated after the sun was some hours high, not far from 11 o'clock A. M. by the surrender of the American forces that then remained on the ground. He saw the flag hoisted by the British sent to the American forces, and saw it pass three times to the Americans before the surrender. He could not understand English but understood that Gen. Winchester was taken prisoner before he got to the lines of his own men; that he was compelled to carry the flag to his own forces after he was taken; that he understood the reason of the flag passing so often was that the Americans refused to surrender upon any other terms than the wounded should be taken care of, the dead buried, and the inhabitants protected in their property. That the British first

refused to agree to these terms but finally did agree to them. He also understood that the loss of the British and Indians in the action was about 400 killed. He also understood that the loss of the Americans in the action was about 180 killed.

He knows that on the day of the action all the prisoners who were able to march were marched off towards Malden, the wounded, about 60 or 80 in number, left in two houses without any of their friends or a physician to take care of them, and without any British officer or men. About ten Indians remained behind upon the ground—the balance of the Indians went off with the British, and he was told by some of the Canadian militia that the British had promised the Indians a frolic that night at Stoney Creek, about six miles from the river Raisin.

He was liberated after the line of march was formed for Malden. The next morning he was in the houses where the wounded were. That morning about fifty Indians returned; they brought whiskey with them; they drank some and gave some to the Indians there, and between 9 and 10 o'clock, A. M. they commenced killing the wounded, then set fire to the houses the wounded were in, and consumed them. He was at his father's, on this side of the Detroit river, about seven days after the action, and saw across the river the prisoners marched off for Niagara from Malden.

He saith that he saw taken by his house, by Capt. Elliot, and nine Wyandot Indians, two men that he had understood had been sent by Gen. Harrison with a flag to the British. One of the men (Mr. Tessier) he knew, the other he did not know, but understood that he was a doctor. He had not an opportunity of conversing with them, but understood from an inhabitant, to whom Mr. Tessier communicated it, that they stopped for the night and left the flag hoisted on the cariole; that the flag was taken away unknown to them, and that the Indians fired upon them; that he, Tessier, told them they were Frenchmen, and surrendered, upon which the Indians ceased firing, and took them. They then men-



tioned they were sent with a flag. The Indians said they were liars and took them off.

Mr. Tessier was set at liberty at the river Raisin and remained two days expecting the doctor to return; at the end of which time Tessier was sent for by the British and taken to Malden. He understood that the doctor was sent off immediately to Niagara; the doctor was wounded in the ankle. He understood the British charged the doctor and Tessier with being spies. And further he saith not.

(Signed)

MEDARD LABADIE.

Witness, C. Gratiot, capt. engineers and interpreter.

Sworn to before me, this 11th day of February, 1813,  
Camp, foot of the Miami Rapids.

(Signed)

C. S. TODD, dis. judge ad.

R. GRAHAM, aid de camp.

A true copy.

*Nicholasville, (Ky.) April 24th, 1813.*

SIR—Yours of the 5th inst. requesting me to give you a statement respecting the late disaster at Frenchtown, was duly received. Rest assured, sir, that it is with sensations the most unpleasant, that I undertake to recount the infamous and barbarous conduct of the British and Indians after the battle of the 22d January. The blood runs cold in my veins when I think of it.

On the morning of the 23d, shortly after light, six or eight Indians came to the house of Jean Baptiste Jeraume, where I was in company with Major Graves, Captains Hart and Hickman, Doctor Todd, and fifteen or twenty private volunteers, belonging to different corps. They did not molest any person or thing on their first approach, but kept sauntering about until there were a large number collected (say one or two hundred) at which time they commenced plundering the houses of the inhabitants, and the massacre of the wounded prisoners. I was one amongst the first that was taken prisoner, and was taken to a horse about 20 paces from the house after being divested of part of my clothing, and commanded by signs there to remain for

further orders. Shortly after being there, I saw them knock down Capt. Hickman at the door, together with several others with whom I was not acquainted. Supposing a general massacre had commenced, I made an effort to get to a house about 100 yards distant, which contained a number of wounded, but, on my reaching the house, to my great mortification, found it surrounded by Indians, which precluded the possibility of my giving notice to the unfortunate victims of savage barbarity. An Indian chief of the Otaway tribe, by the name of McCarty gave me possession of his horse and blanket, telling me by signs, to lead the horse to the house I had just before left. The Indian that first took me came up and manifested a hostile disposition towards me, by raising his tomahawk as if to give the fatal blow, which was prevented by my very good friend McCarty. On my reaching the house which I had first started from, I saw the Indians take off several prisoners, whom I afterwards saw in the road, in a most mangled condition, and entirely stript of their clothing.

Messrs. Bradford, Searls, Turner and Blythe, were collected round a cariole which contained articles taken by the Indians from the citizens. We had all been placed there, by our respective captors, except Blythe, who came where we were, entreating an Indian to convey him to Malden, promising to give him 40 or 50 dollars, and whilst in the act of pleading for mercy, an Indian more savage than the other stepped up behind, tomahawked, stripped and scalped him. The next that attracted my attention, was the houses on fire that contained several wounded whom I knew were not able to get out.—After the houses were nearly consumed, we received marching orders, and after arriving at Sandy creek the Indians called a halt, and commenced cooking; after preparing and eating a little sweetened gruel, Messrs. Bradford, Searls, Turner and myself received some, and were eating, when an Indian came up and proposed exchanging his mockasons for Mr. Searls' shoes, which he readily complied with. They then exchanged hats,



after which the Indian enquired how many men Harrison had with him, and at the same time calling Searls & Washington or Madison, then raised his tomahawk and struck him on the shoulder, which cut into the cavity of the body. Searls then caught hold of the tomahawk and appeared to resist, and upon my telling him that his fate was inevitable, he closed his eyes and received the savage blow which terminated his existence. I was near enough to him to receive the brains and blood, after the fatal blow, on my blanket. A short time after the death of Searls, I saw three others share the same fate. We then set out for Brownstown, which place we reached about 12 or 1 o'clock at night. After being exposed to several hours incessant rain in reaching that place we were put into the council house, the floor of which was partly covered with water; at which place we remained until next morning, when we again received marching orders for their village on the river Rouge, which place we made that day, where I was kept six days, then taken to Detroit and sold. For a more detailed account of the proceedings, I take the liberty of referring you to a publication which appeared in the public prints, signed by Ensign J. L. Baker; and to the publication of Judge Woodward, both of which I have particularly examined and find them to be literally correct, so far as came under my notice.

I am Sir, with due regard,  
Your fellow citizen,

GUSTAVUS M. BOWER.

*Surgeon's Matè 5th Regt. Kentucky Volunteers.*

Jessamine county, to wit.

This day Gustavus M. Bower, personally came before me, John Metcalf, one of the commonwealth's justices of the peace in and for said county, and made oath to the truth of assertions before stated by the said Bower. Given under my hand this 24th day of April, 1813.

JOHN METCALF.

Jesse Bledsoe, esq. Lexington.

*Lexington, May 2d, 1813.*

SIR—I received your letter some time since, relative to the disastrous affair of Frenchtown of 22d and 23d January last. For the particulars of the action, and the terms of capitulation, I refer you to the official report of General Winchester, which is correct as far as came within my knowledge. After the capitulation I was introduced to col. Proctor, the commander of the British forces and Indians, as one of the surviving surgeons, and by him was requested to attend to our wounded, who were left on the ground where the action was fought. I willingly acquiesced, and Doctor Bowers my mate remained with me ; at the same time I informed Col. Proctor of my apprehensions for the safety of the wounded and the surgeons ; he replied be under no apprehensions, you will be perfectly safe, I will place you under the special care of the chiefs until morning and very early I will send conveyances for the wounded and yourself to Amherstburg. Shortly after, I was requested to ascertain the number and rank of the wounded, and in so doing was assisted by a British officer (whose name I did not know) to whom I likewise communicated my apprehensions of safety ; he manifested some irritation at my doubts of British honor and magnanimity, and assured me protection would be afforded me. While engaged in this business, one of the rooms occupied by the wounded was crowded with Indians who were peaceable, but one of them who could speak English admonished the British officer of the propriety of stationing interpreters in the houses. Upon my return from this business to the room I occupied, and which was set apart for the wounded officers, I met, and was made acquainted with captain Elliot, at present a British officer, who had visited Captain Hart then wounded. Captain Hart was solicitous to be removed that evening, and Captain Elliot replied, if it was possible (and every exertion should be made) he should, and, if it could not be effected that evening, early in the morning he would call for him on his own train (sleigh) and convey him to his own house in Amherstburg, where he should remain until recovered, assuring him, repeatedly, no danger was



to be apprehended, and if possible he would remain with him that night. In the afternoon Captain Elliot and every British officer left the encampment, leaving behind three interpreters. From the repeated assurances, my apprehensions were quieted ; for who could doubt ? About one hour before day light (for my duties required my attention nearly all the night) the interpreters suddenly disappeared. About an hour after day light, the Indians began to collect in the town, and commenced plundering the houses in which the wounded were placed, and then stripped them and myself of our clothing. At this time the room I had occupied was crowded with Indians, and Capt. Hart's wound already painful, being injured by them, I conveyed him to an adjoining house which had been plundered and was empty, where I met the Indian (who on the preceding day had requested that interpreters should be left) and he knew my rank. He inquired why the surgeons were left, and why the wounded were left ? I replied it was the wish of Colonel Proctor we should remain until he could send for us ; and Capt. Hart informed him Capt. Elliot was a friend of his and was to call for him that morning. He shook his head significantly, and replied they were damned rascals, or we would have been taken off the preceding day. The Indian informed me every individual would be killed, and requested me to be quiet, for the chiefs were then in council and, " may be," only the wounded would be killed. Captain Hart offered him one hundred dollars to take him to Malden. He replied, you are too badly wounded. While we were conversing, one of the wounded was tomahawked at our feet. Shortly after, the Indian returned and told me, I was a prisoner, and must go. I was taken by the Indian to the house I had left, and there discovered that Captain Hickman and two others had in my absence been tomahawked, scalpt, and stript. I was tied and taken by this Indian toward Malden about four miles, when I came to the encampment of the British wounded, and met with Captain Elliot and the surgeon of the 41st regiment. Captain Elliot immediately recognised me, and inquired the cause of my situation. I informed

him what had taken place, and requested him to send back immediately, that some who were badly wounded might be still alive, and could be saved, particularly named Captain Hart, for whom he manifested much friendship. Captain Elliott replied, it is now too late, you may rest assured that those who are once taken by the Indians are safe, and will be taken to Malden, and those who are badly wounded are killed ere this. I replied, many are unable to walk, and some will be killed after making an effort and walking several miles, who might be saved; to which he replied, charity begins at home, my own wounded are to be conveyed first, and if any sleighs remain, they shall be sent back for your wounded. My anxiety to get some persons to return, in hopes of saving some of the prisoners, induced me at length to make an appeal to their avarice. The surgical instruments of the detachment were left in the room I occupied, and I informed the surgeon of their value and importance at the time; he immediately dispatched an interpreter for them, who returned with the information they were destroyed in the burning of the house, and gave additional information of the massacre of the wounded. I was released from the Indians by Captain Elliott and the surgeon. At this time my brother, who was wounded and several others, were in possession of the Indians, who were taking them towards Malden. I requested their release, and permission for them to accompany me on foot, under British protection. Captain Elliott told me it was impossible, and to be under no fears; they were safe, for he knew the fidelity of the Indians with whom they were. When the intelligence of the massacre was by me communicated to Captain Elliott and the surgeon, they appeared much exasperated, and declared it was impossible to restrain the savages. The cause he then assigned to me was, that when the Indians discovered their loss in killed and wounded, and that of the British, they started off towards our wounded, declared they would have satisfaction and, he continued, I was fearful of the event. During the plunder and the massacre, our wounded con-



ducted themselves with the utmost composure and resignation, and made no resistance, which they knew would be fruitless, and destruction to all.

It was asserted by Col. Proctor in a conversation at Amherstburg, that the Indians had got some whiskey in the house we were stationed, and had become intoxicated. That the Indians may have had some whiskey, I shall not deny, but I think I can safely say, that they did not procure it there, and *that* was not the cause of the massacre, for on the preceding days and subsequent to the action of the 18th, I wanted some spirits, and made application to the housekeeper, who assured me there was none about the house, for it was all consumed by the British and Indians who had quartered in the house prior to the action of the 18th; besides the Indians shewed no manifestation of drunkenness; their deliberate pilfering and their orderly conduct throughout, was not such as would be expected from drunken Indians.

Upon my arrival at Malden I was again solicited to take charge of the wounded, the surgery was opened to me, and I had the use of the medicines and dressings necessary, and they had as comfortable rooms as could be procured. During our stay in Malden some eight or ten of the wounded were brought in by the Indians; several made their escape who were doomed to massacre, and found protection with the inhabitants of the territory, who brought them into Malden, and several made their escape, wandered in and delivered themselves up at the fort. Prior to our leaving Malden, one poor fellow was brought in scalped alive by the Indians and delivered up to the British, but before I reached him death put an end to his sufferings. I frequently, and on every occasion, urged the British officers to exert themselves and procure the release of the wounded from the Indians, urging the necessity of having their wounds dressed. In a conversation on this subject with capt. Elliott, and while urging it, he replied, the Indians are excellent surgeons. The prisoners were all marched off to Sandwich after remaining a few days at Malden, and I was called upon to know how many from their

wounds were unable to march ; who had sleighs furnished them, which was the case during the march to Fort George. Before I conclude, I must say that the terms of capitulation were violated in every particular by the enemy. The wounded were not protected ; nor private property was not held sacred ; and our side arms were not restored. With a few exceptions, I was treated respectfully by the British officers, save the abuse which was lavished on my government, and *that* was by no means sparingly bestowed. I am, respectfully, &c.

JOHN TODD, M. D.

and late surgeon to the 5th regt. of Kentucky  
volunteer militia.

*The Hon. Jesse Bledsoe.*

*The commonwealth of Kentucky,* } ss.  
*Fayette county,*

This day Doctor John Todd came before me, John H. Morton, a justice of the peace for said county, and made oath that the facts stated in the foregoing letter are substantially true to the best of his knowledge.

Given under my hand this 3d day of May, 1813.

JOHN H. MORTON.

*State of Kentucky, Pendleton county, in the town of  
Falmouth.*

On the 21st day of April, 1813, I, John Dawson, an orderly serjeant in captain Glard's company of the 1st regiment Kentucky volunteer militia being detailed off and attached to captain Wriel Seabrees' company, and was in the battle of 18th January, and did not receive a wound, but on the 22d. about 9 o'clock, received a shot under the right arm, which lodged between the ribs.— After the capitulation of our troops, there came a paymaster of the British army in the house where I was, to take the number of wounded that was in the house, I asked what was to be done with us ; he replied don't make yourself uneasy about that, you shall be protected this night by a strong guard which shall be left with you. But to my sad misfortune, I found there were but three interpreters left, and in the night an officer took two of them away, and in the morning the other said he could



not talk Indian. So when the Indians came in the morning, they broke open the doors of the houses, began to tomahawk, scalp and plunder, then set fire to the houses which contained the prisoners; with this I got up, put on my great coat, put up my knapsack and went out of doors. I had not been out more than one minute, before an Indian came up to me and took the coat off my back, also another Indian told me to put my knapsack in his sled; I did so. At this time Major Graves and Capt. Hart were out in the yard. I heard Capt. Hart make a bargain with an Indian to take him to Malden, which the Indian agreed to do for the sum of one hundred dollars. I saw the Indian put a pair of socks on Hart and put him on a horse; this was the last I saw of Hart. I then saw a man riding, whom I thought was a British officer. I made to him but found that he was an Indian, who was aid-de-camp to general Roundhead; he had with him when I came up twelve men. It was at the mouth of a lane where I overtook him, where there were two Indians scalping two men; he hallooed to them to give way; they did so. After this, we went on, and on Sandy creek, about 3 miles from the battle ground I saw Maj. Graves in an Indian sleigh; this is the last account of him that I could ascertain. We went on that night to Brownstown, and in the morning of the 21st a man gave out walking, with the rheumatic pains, who was by the name of Downey. The Indians tomahawked him and then stript him. We then marched on above Detroit on the river Rouge. I staid with them several days, they then took me into Detroit (leaving a young man in the camp by the name of John Davenport) and sold me to Maj. Muir, who commands fort Detroit. I then was sent over to Sandwich, there I staid until the 8th of February; they marched me to fort George and                    me on the 19th of February, 1813. The above is a true statement as far as I saw, though I saw numbers massacred that I did not know.

During my confinement with the Indians, whilst at their camps, they shewed me more humanity than the British.

Given under my hand this 21st day of April, 1813.

JOHN DAWSON.

*Pendleton county, ss.*

I, William Mountjoy, one of the commonwealth's justices of the peace for the state of Kentucky, in and for said county, do certify that the forgoing certificate of John Dawson, was written, subscribed and sworn to before me.

Given under my hand this 21st day of April, 1813.

WM. MOUNTJOY.

*State of Kentucky, Pendleton county, in the town of Falmouth.*

On the 21st day of April, 1813, I, Thomas Pollard, a private of Capt. Glave's company, of the 1st Regiment of Kentucky volunteer militia, was in battles fought with the British and Indian army, on the 18th and 22d of January last, at the river Raisin, and after the surrender of our army as prisoners of war, on the 22d; upon the assurances of British officers promising protection to my wounded fellow soldiers, and that they would send carriages for them the next day, although I had received no injury in either of the actions fought on the 18th and 22d, I voluntarily staid to assist and comfort my mess-mates, John Dawson, Albert Ammerman and Jesse Green, all of whom had received wounds by balls.

I have first examined the statement made and sworn to, by John Dawson, hereunto annexed, and witnessed every circumstance therein stated to be truly stated within my own knowledge. The Indian who bargained with Capt. Hart, to take him to fort Malden for one hundred dollars, and took charge of him, put him on a horse and started on his way; spoke good enough the English tongue for us to understand the contract.

THOMAS POLLARD.

*Pendleton county, ss.*

I, William Mountjoy, one of the commonwealth's justices of the peace for the state of Kentucky, in and for said county, do certify that the foregoing certificate of Thomas Pollard, was subscribed and sworn to before me. Given under my hand this 21st day of April, 1813.

WM. MOUNTJOY.



*State of Kentucky, Pendleton County, in the town of Falmouth.*

On the 21st day of April, 1813, I, Albert Ammerman, a private of captain Glave's company of the first regiment of Kentucky volunteer militia, being wounded in the battle of the 18th January last, at the river Raisin, by a ball in the flesh of the thigh ; and from the window of the house which was appropriated for an hospital, was a witness to the battle of the 22d of the same month ; and after the surrender, I, being but slightly wounded, proposed marching with the rest of the prisoners, and was prevented by the order of a British officer, who said that a guard would be left to take care of the wounded, and carriages would be sent for them to ride in to Malden, on the next morning. But to my astonishment no guard was left, and about sun rise on the morning of the 23d, a party of Indians returned to the hospital, and the first Indian that came to the room I was lodged in, could speak the English language. He was asked by one of the wounded what was to be done with the wounded. He replied they were all to be killed that could not walk ; and shortly after a general massacre commenced. I instantly put on my knapsack, and went out of the house ; my knapsack was demanded by an Indian at the door, to whom I gave it. He conducted me to a log some little distance from the house, on which I sat down, where I witnessed the butchery of many of my fellow citizens sufferers by the tomakawk and scalping knife ; and, to finish the scene, set fire to the houses occupied by the wounded prisoners, many of them struggling in the arms of death, put their heads out of the windows whilst enveloped in smoke and flames. After this bloody work was finished, I was marched off in the direction towards Brownstown, by an Indian, and when about half a mile from Frenchtown on our way, was overtaken by two Indians, who had Capt. Hart in custody, mounted on a horse. As they approached nearly to us, I noticed they were speaking loud and animated as if in a quarrel, but not understanding their language did not understand what passed between them, but think it is probable that the quarrel was occasioned

respecting one hundred dollars, which I understood Capt. Hart had given to one of the Indians aforesaid to convey him to fort Malden. The quarrel appeared to grow very warm, so much so, that the Indians took aim at each other with their guns, and as if to settle the dispute it appeared to me as if they had mutually agreed to kill Capt. Hart and plunder him of the rest of his money and effects, which they did, by taking him off his horse, then knocked him down with a war club, scalped and tomahawked him, and stripped him naked, leaving his body on the ground. I was gratified in observing that, during the scene of trial, Capt. Hart refrained from supplication or intreaty, but appeared perfectly calm and collected. He met his fate with that firmness which was his particular characteristic. No other prisoner of our army of the United States was present to witness this melancholly scene, the death of Capt. Hart. During my captivity with the Indians, five days only, I was treated with more hospitality than I had any reason to expect, much more so than I experienced from the British, after I was ransomed at Detroit, by Mr. Benjamin Chittenden, who will ever be entitled to my utmost gratitude; by him I was humanely treated, and also by some of the French Canadians. his

ALBERT X AMMERMAN.

mark.

*Pendleton County, ss:*

I, William Mountjoy, one of the Commonwealth's justices of the peace, for the state of Kentucky, in and for said county, do certify the forgoing certificate of Albert Ammerman, was subscribed and sworn to before me. Given under my hand this 21st day of April, 1813.

WM. MOUNTJOY.

*Lexington, April 13th, 1813.*

Sir—You request of me a statement of facts within my own knowledge, concerning the murder of the men after the battle and surrender of Frenchtown.

I was one of those who was taken by the Indians on the retreat, about one and a half miles from where the action first commenced. Just before we were taken,



with the assistance of Lieut. Chinn, belonging to the militia, I formed between fifteen and twenty men, I then discovered the Indians running upon us on each side and in front, about sixty in number, with their arms at a trail. I discovered there was no chance to repel them. I ordered the men to ground their arms, which was done; the Indians then came up and secured the arms of our men, and shot them, including the Lieut. before mentioned. I was the only one saved. I was taken and delivered up to Col. Elliot, a British officer.

As to the number of the wounded, I know nothing of my own knowledge.

Your obedient servant,  
A. GARRETT.

Hon. Jesse Bledsoe.

*Fayette County, ss.*

This day Lieutenant Ashton Garret, of the 17th regiment U. S. Infantry, came before me, and made oath that the foregoing statement is just and true to the best of his knowledge and belief.

Given under my hand this thirteenth day of April, 1813.  
J. H. MORTON, J. P.

*State of Kentucky,* } *ss.*  
*Fayette county.* }

Personally appeared before me, a justice of the peace for the county aforesaid, Charles Bradford, an inhabitant of the town of Lexington, state of Kentucky, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelist, deposeth and saith, that he was in the actions of the river Raisin, on the 18th and 22d of January last that, he was wounded in the right hip and remained at Frenchtown after the capitulation; that on the 22d before the prisoners (who were able to walk) were marched for Malden, he saw Capt. William Elliot, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, and of whom he enquired, personally, what would be done with the wounded prisoners? Whether they would be taken to Malden that evening with the other prisoners or not? he said they would not be taken to Malden that evening, but a strong guard would be left to protect them against any outrage the Indians might be disposed to commit. Elliot had a similar conversa-

tion with Maj. Graves, Capts. Hart and Hickman, and Doctors Todd and Bowers, in the presence of this deponent. He, Elliot, further stated that sleighs would be sent to convey the wounded to Malden the next morning. This deponent further says that the British marched away ; no guard was left to protect the wounded, and that Capt. Elliot, when asked the reason, observed that some interpreters were left whose influence among the Indians was greater, and that they were better able to protect us than a guard. About 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning of the 23d of January, this deponent discovered that the interpreters had left the house in which he was, and he never saw them afterwards ; that between day light and sun rise, on the 23d, he saw a large number of Indians come to the house, they burst open the door, and in a few minutes commenced plundering the prisoners, and tomahawking those who were unable to walk. This deponent left the house as soon as possible and went into the yard, where a number of his fellow prisoners had assembled ; he was there claimed as a prisoner by an Indian, who gave him some articles to hold whilst he plundered more. At this time he was standing with Doct. Bowers and James E. Blythe, when an Indian without any provocation, tomahawked Blythe and scalped him. Shortly after, they (the Indians) set fire to the houses in which the wounded had been quartered, and burnt them down, with the bodies of those whom they had murdered. This deponent was then taken by the Indians, in company with Doct. Bowers, Charles Searls, Julius Turner, and several others to Sandy Creek ; that on the way he saw a number of prisoners who had been tomahawked ; that whilst at Sandy Creek, they murdered Charles Searls, Thomas S. Crow, and three or four others ; that this deponent was then packed with forty or fifty pounds weight and taken to the river Rouge, where the Indians had encamped ; that whilst he was there, he enquired of an Indian whether he would take him to Malden, as he wished to be given to Col. Elliot. The Indian said if Col. Elliot told him to do so he would, as they always did as he requested them. This deponent was six days with the Indians



before they took him to Detroit, where he was purchased by Stephen Mack and Oliver W. Miller, for eighty dollars ; that the British officer commanding at Detroit (Major Muir) again claimed him as a British prisoner, notwithstanding his having just been ransomed from their allies, by his own countrymen, and sent him to Sandwich, where he remained until the 9th or 10th of February, when he was sent to Fort George, and there paroled. This deponent states, that whilst a prisoner at Sandwich, he was several times treated insultingly by the British officers and by one John M'Gregor ; that the citizens generally treated the prisoners with kindness and attention, as far as was in their power.

This being the first opportunity the deponent has had of expressing his gratitude to the American citizens who treated the prisoners with so much friendship and humanity at Detroit, cannot refrain from so doing. And as long as he lives, the names of Messrs. Mack, Miller, Smart, Woodward, Williams, M'Donald, Hunt, Mays, &c. shall never be forgotten.

CHARLES BRADFORD.

Sworn and subscribed to, before me this 29th day of April, 1813.

O. KIEN, J. P.

(Copy)

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### ***ERRATA.***

THE author not being present when the proof sheets were taken, a few errors have crept into the work, which the reader is desired to correct with a pen. The most material are the following, viz.

Page 23, 6th line from bottom, after the word President, add *acted*.

122, 8th line from bottom, (note) for shortness read *straitness*.

134, 16th line from top, for M'Cobe, read M'Cabe.

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